Ca' Foscari Japanese Studies 5

New Steps in Japanese Studies

Kobe University Joint Research

edited by
Kazashi Nobuo and Marcella Mariotti

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New Steps in Japanese Studies

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5

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Kazashi Nobuo and Marcella Mariotti (eds.)

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The Fostering of Young Researchers by Cooperation with
Overseas Institutes of Japanese Studies

Program for Advancing Strategic International Networks
to Accelerate the Circulation of Talented Researchers (JSPS)

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Preface

Masumoto Hiroko

This book contains the contributions of the joint-research project conducted by the programme entitled *Innovative Japanese Studies through International Cooperation: The Fostering of Young Researchers by Cooperation with Overseas Institutes of Japanese Studies* at the Graduate School of Humanities, Kobe University, Japan. As a part of the global initiative *Program for Advancing Strategic International Networks to Accelerate the Circulation of Talented Researchers"* the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) supported this programme, which was implemented from October 2013 to March 2016.

This programme sent young researchers to leading institutes of Japanese Studies at three universities in Europe – Ca' Foscari University of Venice, University of Oxford and University of Hamburg – for one year. At the same time, it allowed associated researchers to participate in joint-research projects between Kobe University and these three European universities: Japanese Literature and Modern Japanese Sociocultural Studies at Ca' Foscari University of Venice; Linguistics and Japanese Linguistics at University of Oxford; and Teaching Japanese as a Foreign Language at University of Hamburg. This programme was aimed at strengthening and developing the friendship between Kobe University and its partner institutions, as well as providing an opportunity for young researchers to become involved in Japanese Studies programmes around the world.

Our sincere gratitude is extended to our colleagues in Venice, Oxford, and Hamburg for their participation in shaping the project, and their efforts in the development and realisation of this anthology cannot be overstated. In addition, special thanks are due to Ca' Foscari University of Venice and its press, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, for making the publication of this book possible. Also, it is necessary to recognise the financial support of JSPS for this project. Without the assistance of these researchers and the support of these organisations, this intercultural and international cooperation could not have taken place.

On behalf of the editorial committee,
Dean, Graduate School of Humanities, Kobe University

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Foreword

Bonaventura Ruperti

It is a great joy for me to present the publication of this book.
As Prof. Masumoto wrote, this book is the result of a long-lasting joint-research project, the programme *Innovative Japanese Studies through International Cooperation: The Fostering of Young Researchers by Co-operation with Overseas Institutes of Japanese Studies* by the Graduate School of Humanities, Kobe University, Japan, implemented from October 2013 to March 2016.

Ca' Foscari University of Venice, University of Oxford and University of Hamburg were the partners of this programme; European young researchers went to study to these three universities for a year. Between difficulties and fruitful experiences, they grew up improving their knowledges and their consciousness as researchers in an international dimension. Their papers show a deep insight into this multifaceted issue, combining several disciplines under a multidisciplinary and comparative approach.

Contemporaneously, as representative of our Department, we too had the pleasure to participate in workshops and symposia at Kobe University and at its Brussels European Centre and, as associated researchers, to animate joint-research projects with Kobe University young people and professors. Thanks to this programme, we were profoundly enriched and stimulated as for knowledge and harmony, and above all we had the opportunity to cement our friendship with Kobe University and its partner institutions.

First of all, as a representative of Ca' Foscari University and of my colleagues, I would like to express my most sincere acknowledgments and appreciation to the colleagues and friends in Kobe, Prof. Yui Kiyomitsu, Prof. Masumoto Hiroko, Prof. Fukunaga Susumu, Prof. Kazashi Nobuo and others, for this wonderful opportunity of mutual improvement and express my sincere admiration for their efforts to made their Faculty and Human Studies Research in Kobe University and in Europe more and more beautiful, creative and stimulating.

I am very grateful to my colleagues Marcella Mariotti, Toshio Miyake and Aldo Tollini for their earnest and passionate participation in all the activities, workshops, symposia and so on, and for their efforts (Marcella in primis) to develop and realise this anthology.

We are grateful also to the publisher, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, for making the publication of this book possible.

We would like to thank Kobe University very much for their particular attention to the Japanese Studies Section of our Department. We deeply appreciate their consideration for us.

I would like to extend my acknowledgments to Prof. Bjarke Frellesvig and Prof. Linda Flores from Oxford University and Prof. Jörg B. Quenzer and Lecturer Sugihara Saki from Hamburg University, for their warm participation in the project. And finally to the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) for the financial support.

I am sure that students and scholars will enjoy the studies and papers presented here by our contributors.

Department of Asian and North African Studies
Ca' Foscari University of Venice

Part 1.
Literature & Culture: Crossings and *Mitate*

New Steps in Japanese Studies
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War Brides as Transnational Subjects in Mori Reiko's *The Town of the Mockingbirds*

Linda Flores
(University of Oxford, UK)

Abstract Mori Reiko's 1979 Akutagawa prize-winning story *The Town of the Mockingbirds* portrays a community of Japanese war brides in a small military base town in Midwestern America. The narrative explores how the release from prison of Jun, a war bride imprisoned for killing her son, impacts on the community. Employing Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih's theory of "minor transnationalism" this article explores how the protagonist, Keiko, connects with her community across binaristic lines of gender, culture and nation.

Keywords Transnational Literature. War Brides. Minor Transnationalism. Language Hybridity. Mori Reiko. The Town of the Mockingbirds. Françoise Lionnet. Shu-mei Shih.

1 Transnational Literature

It is difficult to ignore the increasingly influential paradigms of globalization and transnationalism and their impact on studies of literature and culture worldwide. Some modern and contemporary Japanese writers appear to hold international appeal; others address topics that transgress boundaries of nation and identity.

Global literary sensation Murakami Haruki writes books that are translated into multiple languages almost as soon as they are published in Japan. Tawada Yōko, a multi-lingual Japanese author who resides in Germany, publishes fiction in both the German and Japanese language. Mizumura Minae writes fiction about cultural identity and racial tensions based on her personal experiences as a Japanese living abroad in America. The rise of border-crossing subjects in literatures across the globe (to say nothing of the traffic of culture and capital goods) has led to a flurry of research on globalization and the transnational.

American Studies scholar Robert A. Goss has argued of "transnational-

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ism" that it "captures a world of fluid borders, where goods, ideas, and people flow constantly across once-sovereign space" (Goss 2000,378). A reflection of the multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism that have come to characterize parts of the globe over the past few decades, transnationalism is frequently associated with, though not restricted to, globalization. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih define the transnational as "a space of exchange and participation wherever processes of hybridization occur and where it is still possible for cultures to be produced and performed without necessary mediation by the centre" (Lionnet, Shih 2005, 5). The field of transnational literary studies has its earliest origins in the West, and in the United States in particular. Historically, the field has been dominated by African American, Asian American, Chicana/Mexican American and other 'minority' literatures. In this study, however, I employ the term 'transnational literature' to refer not only to literature produced by border-crossing or migrant writers in English, but also to works written in other languages about border-crossing agents, which I refer to as 'transnational subjects'.

There is little research in the academy on transnational subjects in modern Japanese literature, with the majority of studies of transnational literature focusing primarily on so-called 'Third World' writers or 'minority writing'. Clearly there are issues of accessibility at play here, as comparatively fewer works of Japanese literature are available in English translation. It is perhaps for these reasons that at present, research on Japanese literature from the perspective of transnational studies remains a largely underdeveloped field.

This raises a number of important questions: What are the meanings associated with transnationalism in modern Japanese literature? How are transnational Japanese subjects portrayed in literary fiction? Given that the majority of transnational studies has its origins in the West (the United States and Canada, more specifically) and frequently takes the 'Third World' as its object of its study, what interpretive strategies are most appropriate for reading transnational Japanese literature? These are no doubt broad methodological questions, and the present study constitutes but one preliminary attempt to address them. I take as my object of analysis in this study war brides, border-crossing subjects who were frequently the target of controversy in both Japan and the United States in the decades following Japan's defeat in the Second World War. The term 'war bride' or *sensō hanayome* refers to "a Japanese woman who married a member of the foreign armed forces or a foreign civilian who was in Japan as a result of the military occupation after World War II and the subsequent military presence in Japan up to 1960" (Tamura 2003, XV).

There are relatively few representations of war brides in Japanese literature, although numerous accounts can be found in Asian American

writing.[1] War bride narratives in both contexts operate as complex sites of negotiation for discourses of culture, power and gender. War brides occupy liminal spaces as subjects on the margins of the nation in their native countries and in their adopted homelands. As Yoshimizu Ayaka has argued, war brides were stigmatized in various ways as promiscuous, submissive, and as traitors to their native country; at times they were even vilified as the enemy due to lingering resentment towards Japan's military campaigns in the Second World War (Yoshimizu 2009, 115-6). As literary subjects war brides were similarly coded with meaning in the post war and the decades that followed.

This article examines war brides as transnational subjects in Mori Reiko's Akutagawa Prize winning story, *Mokkingubādo no iru machi* (The Town of the Mockingbirds, 1980).[2] *The Town of the Mockingbirds* offers rare insight into Japanese literature on these transnational subjects as a piece of Japanese fiction narrated from the perspective of a Japanese war bride. Mori's narrative highlights the challenges facing not only the war bride community but also other minority cultures, specifically the Native American community.

I will argue that Mori's narrative is best understood viewed through the lens of Lionnet and Shih's "minor transnationalism", as the text reveals latitudinal connections across lines of gender, culture and nation, resisting the binaristic logic of globalization. Mori's text accomplishes this in a number of important ways. First, *The Town of the Mockingbirds* demonstrates resistance on the formal level of the text: Mori's use of language (*kanji*, *katakana*, and *ateji* in particular) creates a hybridity of identity that fundamentally calls into question cultural binarisms. Secondly, the text disrupts these cultural binarisms through triangulation – that is, it introduces a Native American perspective on the dominant narrative of white American society, which allows the Japanese war bride protagonist to draw horizontal connections across minority cultures, thereby challenging the hegemony of American culture in the narrative.

1 Japanese American author Ruth Ozeki, for example, has written numerous English stories and novels featuring Japanese war bride protagonists.

2 Mori Reiko's *Mokkingubādo no iru machi* (The Town of the Mockingbirds) was first published in the journal *Shinchō* in August 1979. It was awarded the prestigious Akutagawa Prize for literature in 1979. An English language translation of the story was published in two instalments of the *Japan Christian Quarterly* in the Fall 1985 and Winter 1986 issues under the title *Desert Song*. See Mori Reiko, 1985-6. Unless otherwise indicated, translations cited here are from the Brannen translation. In this article the story will be referred to as either *The Town of the Mockingbirds* or abbreviated as *Mockingbirds*.

2 War Brides in Japanese Literature

The subject of Japanese war brides has been addressed in several works of Japanese literature during the decades spanning the 1960s to the 1990s. Frequently regarded as a writer of social issues, Ariyoshi Sawako (1931-1984) was one of the first writers to address issues of racism and national identity experienced by war brides in the post war in her novel *Hishoku* (Without Colour) (Ariyoshi 1964). Set in the post war Occupation and beyond, *Hishoku* is the story of a Japanese woman who marries an African American soldier. The protagonist Emiko keenly experiences racial and social discrimination as a *sensō hanayome* (war bride) in her native Japan, particularly after giving birth to a *hāfu* (half Japanese, half foreigner) daughter. Despite the fact that her American soldier husband is able to provide a decent living for them in the difficult economic climate of the Occupation, Emiko and her family are regarded as second-class citizens by the local Japanese community. Emiko's husband receives military orders to return to America, and sometime later Emiko and her daughter make the long journey by ship to join him. Whilst on the ship Emiko is surprised to discover that the network of racial relations in America is far more complex than she had previously imagined: she encounters war brides from other cultures and learns that there is a hierarchy amongst foreigners. Moreover, Emiko discovers to her surprise that as a Japanese in the post war era, she is nowhere near the top of this social hierarchy. She moves to Harlem and is surprised to discover that her 'American dream' of white picket fences and a better life is shattered: they occupy a basement flat in a poor neighbourhood, and her husband provides a meagre living for their growing family through his job as a hospital orderly. After giving birth to three more children, Emiko attempts to escape the banality of her life in Harlem by working as a housekeeper for a well-to-do Japanese woman married to a university professor. Through these experiences in America Emiko develops a profound and nuanced awareness of and sensitivity to issues of race relations, American culture, and national identity.[3]

Three of the four war brides narratives discussed in this article were awarded the prestigious Akutagawa prize for fiction: Yamamoto Michiko's *Betei-san no niwa* (Betty's Garden, 1972),[4] Mori Reiko's *Mokkingubādo no iru machi* (The Town of the Mockingbirds, 1980), and Yoshimeki Haruhiko's novel, *Sekiryō kōya* (Solitude Point, 1993). Recipient of the 1972 Akutagawa prize, *Betty's Garden* portrays a Japanese war bride living with her

3 Osada Kazuko argues that Ariyoshi Sawako's *Hishoku* is a prescient narrative that demonstrates the author's keen insight into race relations in the 1960s. See Osada 2007.

4 *Betei-san no niwa* was the lead story in the collection *Betei-san* (Betty-san). It was published by Shinchō-sha (1972).

family in the arid and unforgiving climate of Darwin, Australia. Despite raising her three sons in Australia, Betty-san still feels culturally and spiritually isolated within her community. Betty-san has largely adapted to life in Australia, even becoming baptized at her husband's urging and adopting the Christian name, "Elizabeth", or "Betty". Nevertheless, she longs to return to her native Japan, and these emotions become more pronounced as her children are older and no longer rely on her as they had when they were young. Betty-san becomes increasingly emotionally estranged from her family, whilst desperately clinging to anything that reminds her of her native Japan. She befriends the Japanese fishermen whose ship docks periodically near her hometown, and enthusiastically hosts barbecue parties for them. She even takes one of the young fishermen into her home to nurse him back to health after he is injured in an altercation on the ship. At the end of the story Betty-san and her sons see their father and his new secretary to the airport as they prepare to depart on a business trip. Betty-san fears that her husband is about to embark on a love affair and the story ends with Betty-san and her sons encountering the seemingly portentous omen of a burning buffalo on the outback road during their journey home.

Yoshimeki Haruhiko's *Sekiryō kōya* (Solitude Point) (Yoshimeki 1993) is a sentimental portrayal of a Japanese war bride who, together with her American husband, a veteran of the Korean War, raised two sons in the heart of Louisiana's bayou country in the American south. The novel was awarded the 109th Akutagawa prize in 1993. After nearly four decades of family life in the United States, 64 year-old Yukie develops Alzheimer's disease. Together with her 69 year-old husband, Richard, the couple struggle to negotiate their way through this medical crisis alongside the aftermath of the collapse of Richard's business. The narrative details how she and her family struggle to cope with the progression of her disease, as well as how her own repressed emotions as a war bride over four decades come to the fore as she is less able to consciously exercise control over her own speech and behaviour. The novel was made into a film titled *Yukie* by director Matsui Hisako in 1998.

3 Mori Reiko's *The Town of the Mockingbirds*

Mori Reiko's 1979 Akutagawa prize-winning story *The Town of the Mockingbirds* depicts a community of Japanese war brides living in a small military base town in the American Midwest. The women have spent over half their lives living in the United States as the wives of American servicemen. The protagonist of the story is Keiko ("Kei"/"Kay"), a middle-aged war bride whose two children who have recently left home. Keiko's husband, Jeff, has recently retired from a lengthy career in the United States military. Unable to bear an idle retirement, Jeff spends weeks at a time away

from home working at his cousin's farm. Keiko fills her days cleaning the family home, and she gradually begins to question the meaning of her existence in the small mid-western air base town. This interrogation of her identity is inspired by the return to the community of Junko ("Jun"/"June"), a fellow war bride who was married to an American military officer.

Nine years earlier whilst Jun's husband was away during the Korean War, Jun killed her young son Ronny in a fit of rage after he railed against her when she discovered that he had received a poor school report card. Jun has recently been released following her incarceration for the murder of her son. Jun had been married to Captain Atkins, a West Point graduate who had treated the other Japanese war brides with disdain. After her release from prison, Jun explains to Keiko the nature of her relationship with Captain Atkins and her struggle with her own cultural identity as a Japanese living in America:

> But when anything went wrong, he'd yell at me and call me a "Jap". That's why I did my best to behave like an American. He was so proud of Ronny because he was blond, blue-eyed and smart. When he left for Korea, he told me to make sure that Ronny was an 'A' student. I raised Ronny just the way he wanted, because I didn't want to lose him. I lived for the day when Ronny's name would appear in the newspaper on the honour list and I could send him the clipping to Korea. I guess it was too heavy for little Ronny; that's why he behaved as he did. Everything just fell apart. (Mori 1986, 36)

Jun returns to her community and seeks to establish the American base town as her *furusato* (hometown) through the act of remaining there to memorialize her dead son. When Keiko listens to Jun's explanation for her act of violence against Ronny, to her surprise, she finds herself identifying with Jun's emotions:

> Keiko also had memories of her own children railing against their Japanese blood. It angered her that her children spoke ill of the blood that she had given them. Keiko empathized with Junko, feeling the same suffocating sensation that she must have felt.
>
> She realized that only by accident had she herself escaped stepping on the unspoken but infinite dark cracks that lie hidden beneath the veneer of everyday existence. (Mori 1986, 37)

Some time after Jun is sent to prison, Jun's husband, Captain Atkins, arrives unannounced at Keiko's doorstep and deposits Jun's suitcase, asking Keiko to return it to Jun. Keiko conceals the suitcase in the attic and does not inform her husband or children of its existence. Some years later

Keiko realizes that the suitcase functioned as a material reminder of what happens when "things fall apart", and that she herself was only a suitcase away from succumbing to the same fate as Jun. By remaining ever mindful of the presence of the suitcase in the attic and what it symbolized, Keiko manages to navigate her own existence as a war bride in the base town in the years following Ronny's death and Jun's imprisonment.

The two other war bride characters in *Mockingbirds* are Gisella, an Italian war bride, and "Sue" (Tōko), another Japanese war bride. Gisella is married to a doctor, and together they have eight children who constantly keep Gisella on her toes. Cheerful and carefree, Gisella playfully chides Keiko for her inability to control her husband Jeff, allowing him to leave her alone for weeks while he works away from home to occupy his time in his retirement. Keiko is embarrassed that Gisella has correctly identified a spiritual weakness in Keiko. Keiko categorizes this as a "weakness" in character shared in common by the Japanese war brides.

> But it was a weakness shared by all Japanese wives, not just limited to her. With Jun, it caused her to murder her own child for something Gisella would have laughed off. With Sue, it had involved her in hopeless love affairs. […] They were all weak. Was it Japan's warm, mild climate and gentle surroundings that placed them under a spell and prevented them from developing independent personalities? Or was it a racial trait they had inherited? Perhaps it was the life style in Japan that was responsible. (Mori 1986, 27)

Japanese war bride Sue feels trapped in a loveless and childless marriage with Phil, a former prisoner of war in a Japanese concentration camp. As a result, Sue constantly seeks attention through her extramarital love affairs. Her most recent affair was with Edgar Lightfoot, a young Native American artist who teaches art at the local YMCA; it is precisely this relationship that forms the basis of Keiko's coming into consciousness about minority cultures. This interaction with Edgar enables Keiko's own understanding of their shared identity as foreigners living in America.

Frustrated by the end of her most recent love affair with Edgar, Sue persuades Keiko to take her to visit Edgar in an attempt to salvage their relationship. Sue even slips an envelope of cash under Edgar's door on the pretense that she knows someone who is interested in purchasing Edgar's art. When Edgar refuses to come to the door, Sue breaks down crying outside his apartment door. Later, Edgar contacts Keiko to return the cash to Sue and also to ask Keiko to intercede on his behalf and inform Sue that he would like to sever all ties with her. During their meeting at the local YMCA where he teaches art, Edgar tries to convey to Keiko his feelings about growing up as a Native American in a "white man's world". Edgar explains to Jun how difficult it was for him to gain acceptance in the local

white community as a Native American artist and art teacher; he claims that the people in his local Comanche tribe are incapable of understanding his decision to leave the Reservation behind. Edgar seems pleased with himself for his accomplishments and smug in the certitude of his life choices. At the same time he is obviously full of resentment towards his tribe, the Comanche on the Elk Wood Reservation:

> I've overcome white people's prejudice that all Indians are uncivilized savages; I now have a respectable position as instructor of art in white society. On the reservation they look down on me as a rebel and a traitor. What will they ever accomplish clinging to their narrow tribal consciousness, preserving their traditions, and turning their backs on the advancements of white society? (Mori 1986, 31)

Edgar's comments elicit an unexpectedly powerful response from Keiko, as she begins to draw parallels between Edgar's denial of his Comanche heritage and her own position as a Japanese war bride living in America: "Perhaps we, as human beings, are not as free from the land of our birth and the ties of blood as we think we are" (Mori 1986, 33). Keiko comes to realize that both she and Edgar are foreigners struggling for acceptance in white America. When Edgar naively solicits Keiko's opinion on his paintings, she indicates to him: "All your paintings are made to catch the attention of white Americans" (Mori 1986, 33).

The narrative concludes with Keiko and her friends celebrating American Independence Day, the Fourth of July, in their usual way with a barbecue at a site by a local lake. Keiko's children are unable to attend the celebration as their father, Jeff, refuses to send them the money to return home. Sue is conspicuously absent from the festivities, and her husband Phil reveals that she is en route to Japan by airplane. Gisella attends with many of her children and their spouses.

What distinguishes this particular July Fourth celebration from others is the impact of Keiko's recent encounter with Edgar Lightfoot on her perceptions about the Native American community. Nearby, a traditional Native American ceremony is taking place, and some of the members of Keiko's party observe the festivities. Keiko imagines that she sees Edgar Lightfoot's characteristic blue eyes amongst the crowd of Native American tribes performing. Phil identifies the ceremony as a 'Squaw Dance', which he explains consists of prayers and chanting in song for several consecutive days; the tribes dance in the hope that their gods will return from the dead after the white man has stolen their land. Keiko marvels at the Native American people's capacity for faith and hope, "How could they wait so patiently for the resurrection of their gods since the white man's invasion? – Keiko marveled" (Mori 1986, 43-4). Then, enthralled by the soft, mournful sounds of the chants carrying across the desert, Keiko

has a revelation: "All of a sudden she was struck with the meaning of it all. – That chant and those bells! Why it's the same chant and the same bells I heard from Buddhist pilgrims in Japan!" (Mori 1986, 44). Keiko's revelation suggests an appreciation of the minority position of the Native Americans, and reveals her understanding that as minorities amidst a white American majority, they are somehow spiritually linked.

> Suddenly it all became clear to her: this was no ritual of vengeance; it was a ritual of nostalgia, a longing for the spiritual home that had been taken away from them by the white man. The firm, monotonous tread of the moccasins symbolized their ancestors' trek across the Aleutian Straits thousands of years ago. The jangling bells were the cries of their people who had been robbed of their homeland where they had buried their dead. (Mori 1986, 44)

4 Literary Criticism

When Mori Reiko's *The Town of the Mockingbirds* won the 82nd annual Akutagawa prize for literature in 1979, the panel of distinguished judges praised the author's ability to portray foreigners and the parched, desolate landscape of the American Midwestern town in such a vivid and realistic manner. Yoshiyuki Junnosuke lauded Mori's evocation of the landscape and atmosphere of the Midwest, but offered only half-hearted praise for the work itself, stating that it possessed "no literary style" (Yoshiyuki 1980, 452). Both Inoue Yasushi and Yasuoka Shotarō also commented in a similar vein, although Inoue was careful to offer praise to the author as she "skilfully portrays the lives and mental state of Japanese women as outsiders with a settled brush" (Inoue 1980, 454). Nakamura Mitsuo stated that the characters in the *The Town of the Mockingbirds* were stereotyped, but that the work brought about a "newness" or "freshness", and that it was easily chosen as the Akutagawa prize-winner. For Nakamura, the primary appeal of the story lay in the realistic portrayals of the lives of average everyday people in a small American town (Nakamura 1980, 450). Author and Akutagawa prize judge Endō Shūsaku remarked that the task of portraying foreigners constituted a difficult endeavour for a Japanese author, but that Mori overcame this challenge with ease (Endō 1980, 450). Niwa Fumio offered the highest praise for *Mockingbirds*, stating that he was profoundly moved by this "long-awaited work". Niwa also aptly pointed out that the story could have easily been titled "The Japanese Wives" (Niwa 1980, 455).

5 Minor Transnationalism

Evidently, for the Akutagawa prize panel of judges much of the appeal of Mori's story could be located in the narrative's ability to realistically convey both the foreign landscape as well as the mindset of the Japanese war bride characters and foreigners (both white Americans and Native Americans). The present study, however, is less concerned with the ability of Mori as a Japanese writer to portray a foreign landscape and mindset, than with the ways in which the narrative informs discourses on transnationalism and identity. This study suggests that the *The Town of the Mockingbirds* can be read as a 'transnational narrative', and that Lionnet and Shih's "minor transnationalism" in particular offers a productive methodology for analysis.

Much of transnational literature depicts the struggle to move from periphery to centre, as it is concerned with issues of citizenship, national identity and belonging, and Lionnet and Shih's "minor transnationalism" represents one theoretical attempt to resist this universalistic logic. They argue that the logic of globalization is:

> centripetal and centrifugal at the same time and assumes a universal core or norm, which spreads out across the world while pulling into its vortex other forms of culture to be tested by its norm. It produces a hierarchy of subjects between the so-called universal and particular, with all the attendant problems of Eurocentric universalism. (Lionnet, Shih 2005, 5)

War bride narratives are particularly receptive to this mode of reading texts, as war brides by their very definition occupy a liminal space between cultures and nations. Studies of war bride narratives in Asian American literature have often emphasized reclaiming the subjectivity of war brides, as both the media and literature in the decades following the end of the war focused on the image of war brides as an allegory for the relationship between Japan and the US (Osada 2007, 17). Yoshimizu attempts to reclaim war bride subjectivity by positing memories as counter-narratives to dominant nationalist discourses (Yoshimizu 2009, 111). In her analysis of Japanese-American author Ruth Ozeki's novel about war brides, *All Over Creation*, Hsiu-Chuan Lee employs Lionnet and Shih's "minor transnationalism" to this end:

> In order to free Japanese war brides from the conventional representations as traitors, victims, or the assimilated—hence the forgotten—wives scattering into white domesticity, it is imperative to re-conceive war brides as figures exceeding the boundaries of nationalistic politics. In

> effect, war brides' interracial affiliations make them a pliable nexus of differences. (Lee 2013, 41)

This study suggests that Mori's *Mockingbirds* represents a similar attempt to resist the binarisms that dominate discourse on war brides. The text accomplishes this by shifting the terms of discourse away from the centre/periphery model and forging horizontal connections across minority communities. As Lionnet and Shih have cogently argued:

> More often than not, minority subjects identify themselves in opposition to a dominant discourse rather than vis-à-vis each other and other minority groups. We study the center and the margin but rarely examine the relationships among different margins. The dominant is posited, even by those who resist it, as a powerful and universalizing force that either erases or eventually absorbs cultural particularities. Universalism demands a politics of assimilation, incorporation, or resistance, instituting a structure of vertical struggle for recognition and citizenship. (Lionnet, Shih 2005, 2)

This model of "minor transnationalism" proposed by Lionnet and Shih offers an alternative method for examining the social relations of immigrants in Mori Reiko's *The Town of the Mockingbirds*. As will be discussed in a later section, the model demands more than a facile resistance of the 'centripetal pull' of the centre, in this case, American culture. It requires that the 'peripheral' or 'minor' cultures engage with each other in meaningful ways.

6 Language Hybridity

Mori's narrative employs language to represent both the hybridity and ambiguity of identity experienced by the Japanese war brides in the story. The resulting effect within the text symbolically interrogates the hegemony of English and 'white America' as the dominant language and culture, and creates hybrid spaces for the exploration of issues of identity. Although the text is written in Japanese, the author's creative use of *kanji*, *katakana*, *ateji*, and *rubi* readings produces this unsettling effect throughout the narrative. First, the names of the Japanese war bride characters in *Mockingbirds* are rendered into *katakana* in most instances: "Keiko" becomes "Kei"/"Kay"; "Junko" becomes "Jun"/"June" and "Tōko" becomes "Sue". For the former two characters, the *katakana* reading of their names contains an inherent ambiguity, as they could be transposed into *romaji* in multiple ways, each connoting different meanings. "Kei" could be regarded as an abbreviation of "Keiko", or as "Kay", an American equivalent; simi-

larly, "Jun" could be regarded as an abbreviation for "Junko" or else as "June", an American equivalent. Clearly this is not the case for "Sue". For the war bride characters Keiko and Junko, the ambiguity of representing their names in *katakana* mirrors an ambiguity of identity; arguably they could be said to possess hybrid identities after two decades of living in America. At the same time, however, both "Kei"/"Kay" and "Jun"/"June" express their struggle with their Japanese/American cultural identities. On the other hand, "Sue" is by far the most 'Americanized' character, and the one who has best adapted to life in the Midwestern base town. The story is narrated in the third person from the perspective of the protagonist, Keiko, and the text uses *kanji* characters to represent her name. Interestingly, when the other characters in the narrative refer to Keiko, her name is rendered into the *katakana* "Kei". This variation in the nomenclature of the protagonist further underscores the fractured nature of Keiko's own cultural identity.

The use of *ateji* further complicates the issue of language and identity in the narrative. There are few linguistic studies of the use of *ateji* in contemporary Japanese language. In modern Japanese literature, Meiji authors Natsume Sōseki and Mori Ōgai were especially adept at employing *ateji* in their fiction. Sōseki, for example, would sometimes use different *kanji* to represent a native Japanese word in order to convey particular meanings. In *Mockingbirds*, however, Mori Reiko uses *kanji* that maintain their original Japanese meanings, but she also appends the *rubi* readings in *katakana* alongside them. A recent study of the use of *ateji* in *manga* by Mia Lewis refers to this type of *ateji* as "translative *ateji*", that is "where the translation for the spoken word written in the *furigana* is provided in the *kanji*", adding a sense of foreignness through word manipulation (Lewis 2010, 32).

There are numerous examples of this type of *ateji* in Mori's story *The Town of the Mockingbirds*. Some examples include: "*jijō*", which has the *furigana* "*afuea*" appended to it to denote a 'love affair' (Mori 1980, 8);[5] "*ren'ai*", which has the *furigana* "*rabu*" appended to it to denote 'love' (Mori 1980, 8); "*kichigai*", which has the *furigana* "*kure-ji*" appended to it to denote the English word 'crazy' (Mori 1980, 13, 15, 21). Although the meaning of these words is sufficiently clear in the original Japanese rendering, the addition of the English gloss conveys further meaning: with the "*kichigai*"/"*kure-ji*" pairing, for example, Sue and the war brides in the town are therefore described as not only "*kichigai*", which itself connotes madness, but as 'crazy', further punctuating the word with the heavily laden meaning of the English language term. There are numerous other instances of this kind of word play in Mori's text: "*gizensha*" is written

5 In this section page numbers refer to the original Japanese text in Mori 1980.

with the gloss "*hipokuritto*" for 'hypocrite'; "*binbō hakujin*" is written with the gloss "*pua howaito*" for 'poor white'; "*fuan*" is written with the gloss "*sorichudo*" for 'solitude'. The volume of *ateji* in Mori's *Mockingbirds* is unusually high, but it is also diverse. It is worth mentioning that in the two stories accompanying *Mokkingubādo no iru machi* in Mori's 1980 collection of stories, this frequent use of *ateji* was not noted. Arguably, Mori's word play with characters, their meanings and readings in *Mockingbirds* could also be referred to as *jukujikun*. *Jukujikun* can be regarded as a subset of the broader category of *ateji*. With *jukujikun*, the kanji in use relates to the meaning of the word, but not to the sound.

The Town of the Mockingbirds is also characterized by a double movement of language in its usage of *kanji* and *katakana*, as many proper nouns that would ordinarily be written in *kanji* are rendered into *katakana*. For example, in Keiko's recollections of her friends' names from her childhood, *katakana* is exclusively employed. She recalls their names to herself: "*E-chan, Daruma-san, Kō-chan, Shun-chan, Nobu…".* (Mori 1980, 16). Moreover, when Keiko is discussing place names in Japan with Sue's husband, Phil, she refers to "Kurihama" in *katakana*, rather than in *kanji*. This suggests a movement of the protagonist towards English and American culture as well as an estrangement from her native language of Japanese. Decades following her immigration to America as the war bride of an American soldier, the representations of both the names of her childhood playmates and the names of Japanese places indicate a critical distance between Keiko and her native Japanese identity. Importantly, this language play does not celebrate hybridity, but instead suggests an exploration of these borderland spaces created by the intersection of cultures. Just as Keiko herself struggles with her identity as a war bride twenty-four years after her immigration from Japan to America, the text too struggles to negotiate language, words and meaning across cultures. The emphasis on these borderland spaces created through the use of language disrupts the presumed centre/periphery language binary (with English as the dominant language and Japanese as the minor language), suggesting that "minor transnationalism" offers a productive method for reading Mori's text.

7 Triangulation of Identity

Transnational literature is frequently characterized by the tension between center and periphery, as issues of identity and belonging play critical roles. *The Town of the Mockingbirds* radically disrupts the American/Japanese cultural dichotomy by inserting discourse on Native Americans as a third term. By triangulating the relationship between herself as a war bride and white American society, Keiko is able to come into consciousness about other minorities, therefore calling the centripetal movement of globalization into

question. It is precisely Keiko's interaction with Sue's Native American former lover Edgar Lightfoot that enables this understanding. Edgar's open contempt for the lifestyle of the members of his Native American tribe demonstrates clearly that for him, white American culture and his native roots exist in a binary state of opposition. Moreover, Edgar's longing for acceptance by white society suggests a clear center-periphery distinction wherein movement naturally flows towards the hegemonic centre. Edgar has all but severed relations with his Comanche tribe and feels he has succeeded in life because he has gained acceptance in the white community as an artist and art teacher in spite of his Native American heritage. He swells with pride when he explains to Keiko that the young white woman in his studio is, in fact, his assistant, revelling in the reversal of their social and cultural positions. Edgar also boasts about the fact that white patrons financially support his artistic endeavours. He points out what life on the Indian reservation means for him:

> Indolence and degradation – that's all it'll ever bring them. No matter how much they brag about being 'native Americans', until they get off the reservation and make their mark in white society, people will still say, 'An Indian's an Indian'. (Mori 1986, 31)

Despite her frustration with Edgar's arrogance, Keiko tempers her response to him when she observes the reaction of the women in the YMCA to their heated conversation: "She noticed some of the Caucasian women exchanging glances, with grimaces on their faces. In their eyes she could read their racial prejudice: 'Indians!' they seemed to say" (Mori 1986, 28). Keiko comes to recognize that despite their obvious cultural differences, both she and Edgar are very much citizens on the fringes of the nation. Keiko attempts to explain her newfound perspective to Edgar:

> Even though I meant to live the life of the country as fully as possible, because there are customs that I could not follow with all my heart, and because of an overpowering desire not to be discriminated against by the whites because I am Japanese, I found no place to show my true self. And probably…perhaps you have been caught in the same trap.(Mori 1986, 33)

Arguably, the protagonist of Ariyoshi Sawako's 1964 novel *Hishoku* maps out a similar trajectory of coming into consciousness about identity and minority relations. In *Hishoku*, Emiko develops a more profound understanding of race relations in America, deconstructing her previously held binary model of national identity vis-à-vis Japan and the United States (Osada 2007, 21). Emiko's desire to racially identify with the African-American community, however, is not based merely on her heightened understanding of racial relations in America; she is married to an African-American man and her children are so-called *hāfu* (half). In other words, whereas Emiko

of *Hishoku* has a vested interest in this cultural understanding, Keiko of *Mockingbirds* possesses no such imperative when she posits a cross-cultural connection between her own identity as a Japanese war bride and Edgar Lightfoot's Comanche community. In her analysis of *Hishoku* Barbara Hartley argues that Emiko reaches this consciousness of racial relations through her corporeal experiences:

> It should be noted that Emiko's declaration of solidarity with the Harlem community is intimately connected with her maternal body in that she re-affiliates with her children and their father. It is possible that her return to her family might be interpreted as a championing of a *telos* of motherhood. (Hartley 2003, 301)

That is, motherhood offers Emiko particular insight, enabling her to connect on a more profound level with both her family and her community across boundaries of nation and culture.

Keiko's development of a minority consciousness in Mori's *Mockingbirds* differs from that of Emiko in Ariyoshi's *Hishoku* in other significant ways. Emiko develops a consciousness of race and racism based on her own experiences as the Japanese (minority) wife of an African American man, but this development is exclusively a mono-directional process: Emiko herself achieves a more profound understanding of race and expresses solidarity with the African American community. On the other hand, Keiko's engagement with Edgar is not merely a passive understanding; she engages Edgar into a heated discussion designed to force his own understanding of her perspective on race relations. When Edgar presents Keiko with his simple, binary understanding of the relationship between Native Americans and white America, Keiko offers her own perspective as a Japanese war bride. By triangulating the Japan/American and Native American/white American binarisms that both she and Edgar bring to their meeting at the YMCA, Keiko participates in the production of discourses on race and identity. The narrative therefore creates what can effectively be referred to as a 'transnational space of exchange', where culture is produced through latitudinal relationships that are not mediated by a hegemonic center.

In *Mockingbirds* triangulation of the three terms – white Americans, Native Americans, and Japanese war brides – produces the effect of disrupting the conventional binaries used to represent the war bride experience in literature, creating this space of exchange and understanding. Linguistically as well, the text problematizes hybridity and disrupts the hegemony of the English language. Through the lens of "minor transnationalism" Mori's 1979 story *The Town of the Mockingbirds* can be read as a piece of transnational literature that disrupts global binarisms and creates a space of exchange and production that exists across boundaries of nation, race, gender and culture.

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Dōgen and *mitate*

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Abstract In the beginning I will introduce the concept of *mitate*, which is a rhetoric device very similar to a metaphor largely used in Japanese literature in order to hint at something outside a text. After having explained its structure and function, I will examine how it was employed in the field of Buddhism and, especially, in the Zen sect. Then, I will focus on on the Sōtō Zen master Dōgen (1200-1253) and his major work *Shōbōgenzō* in which we can find examples of *mitate* used to teach the Buddhist doctrine. However, Dōgen has a particular approach to *mitate*, which I call 'de-constructive' because he uses *mitate* to invalidate its function overturning its structure. This is a very original approach and an efficient strategy in order to transmit the ultimate truth taught in Zen. In this paper, I will present and analyse a few examples.

Keywords Dōgen. Mitate. Japanese Buddhism. Deconstruction. Metaphor.

1 Introduction

First, I want to introduce the concept of *mitate*, which in Japan is generally considered to be a literary rhetoric tool, but can be applied also in non-literary situations, for example in Buddhist teaching, as in the case that I am going to present in the following pages.[1]

In the Japanese context, *mitate* means 'to suggest' or 'to infer' an element B, which is absent, through an element A that is present in the text. The rhetoric strategy of *mitate* consists of recalling something *in absentia* by means of something *in praesentia*. Though not present in the text, the concealed element can be inferred by means of what is present. This process can be carried out successfully thanks to inference, or intuition, that

1 For a general description of *mitate* in Japanese aesthetics see Isozaki, *Mitate no tehō,* 122-130; Haft, *Aesthetic Strategies of the Floating World*, 69 ff.

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is a link based on the connection between the two elements.

Normally in the element A, which is present, there is a clue that allows the reader to infer element B, which is not present. In this way, a simple text can have a double meaning, or two parallel meanings, of which one is evident and the other is concealed. This devise is mostly used in poetry, where rhetoric strategies are largely employed.

Just to give a simple example, the word 'rain' can be a *mitate* for 'tears': 'rain' is composed of water drops that can recall the water drops of the human eye, that is 'tears'. In this case, the inference of 'tears' from 'rain' is easily inferred and the author can remind the reader of a condition of sorrow by means of a rainy day.

The capacity of inferring the hidden meaning of *mitate* ultimately depends on the reader and his sensibility.

2 *Mitate* in Dōgen's *Shōbōgenzō*

In the major work of the Zen master Dōgen (1200-1253), one of the most important buddhist masters of Japan, *Shōbōgenzō*, there are many examples of *mitate*. One is the poem by the Chinese master Wanshi (宏智 1091-157) that Dōgen presents in the chapter "Zazenshin" (坐禅箴). The last part of it says:

> 「水清徹底兮
> 魚行遅遅
> 空闊莫涯兮
> 鳥飛杳杳」(Sokuō 1965, 1: 406)
>
> Water is clear to the bottom
> Fishes swim quietly
> The sky is vast and extends boundlessly
> The birds fly away somewhere.

In this case, "water is clear to the bottom" is a *mitate* for the mind that is clear and the same can be said for "the sky is vast and extends boundlessly". As to fishes and birds, their unrestrained movements are a clear hint at the spontaneous movements of those who have reached enlightenment. Dōgen comments this unrestrained movement of fishes, saying:

> 「魚もしこの水をゆくは、「行」なきにあらず、行はいく万程となくすゝむといへども、不測なり、不窮なり。」(408)
> If a fish moves in this water, it is not that it does not move. Even if it goes for ten thousands of degrees, it is not measurable, it is not exhausting.

And then he adds the following comment:

「飛空（ひくう）は尽界なり、尽界飛空なるがゆへに。この飛、いくそばくといふことしらずといへども、卜度（ぼくど）のほかの道取を道取するに、「杳々」（ようよう）と道取するなり。」(409)
Flying in the sky is the whole world, because the whole world flies in the sky. Though you know how wide is this flying, in order to express it beyond measurability, we say "fly away somewhere".

The above two comments are clearly a *mitate* for the freedom of those who have reached enlightenment. After quoting and commenting Wanshi's poem, Dōgen composes his own poem, saying in the last strophe:

「水清徹地兮
魚行似魚
空闊透天兮
鳥飛如鳥」(410)

Water is clear to the bottom
And fishes swim just like fishes do,
The sky is vast and extends as far as the heaven
Birds fly just like birds do.

Which is his own way of expressing awakening.

In the famous chapter "Genjō kōan" (現成公案), Dōgen takes up again the example of fishes and birds in order to express the state of liberation by means of nature.

「魚の水をゆくに、ゆけども水のきはなく、鳥そらをとぶに、とぶといへどもそらのきはなし。しかあれども、うをとり、いまだむかしよりみづそらをはなれず。只用大のときは使大なり。要小のときは使小なり。」(86)
Fishes swim and in their swimming there are no limits to the water. Birds fly, and in their flying there is no limits to sky. Things being like that, fishes and birds since ancient times do not separate from water and sky. When they want to use the big, they use the big, and when they want to use the small, they use the small.

Again, in the chapter "Yuibutsu yobutsu" (唯仏与仏), Dōgen speaks of fishes and birds:

「むかしよりいへること有り、いはゆる、うをにあらざればうをのこころを知ず、とりにあらざれば鳥のあとを尋づねがたし。このことわりをもよく知れる人まれなり。。。。
しかあるを、鳥はよくちひさき鳥のいく百千むらがれすぎにける。これはおほきなる鳥のいくつらみなみにさり、きたに飛にけるあとよと、かずかずにみるなり。車の跡の路にのこり、馬の跡の草にみゆるよりもかくれなし。鳥は鳥のあとを見る也。この理は、仏にも有り。」(Sokuō 1965, 3: 235)

> There is a saying from ancient times: "Those who are not fishes cannot understand the mind of fishes. For those who are not birds it is difficult to follow the tracks of birds". Very few people can understand the meaning of this saying.
>
> However, birds know very well the track of their fellow birds that in hundreds and thousands in flock have passed by, and the tracks of a certain number of big birds that went south and have flown to the north. For them these tracks are even clearer than the tracks left by the wheels of a cart or the footprint of a horse on the grass. Birds see the tracks left by birds. This principle is the same also for the Buddhas.

Fishes and birds and their moving freely is a *mitate* of how nature is a manifestation of enlightenment, or said with a Buddhist expression of "original enlightenment". Then, the *mitate* continues saying that only those who have achieved enlightenment can understand the "freedom of the awakened status", and those who have not achieved enlightenment cannot understand it.

3 *Mitate* in Zen

In the field of Zen, *mitate*, metaphors and the like are very often used in teaching. In general, religions have a large repertory of parables, similes and so on: the Christian religion is a typical case. As examples of this type of discourse in Zen, I will show in 3.1 the Ten Ox Herding Pictures (十牛図) and in 3.2 the poem of the mirror by the Sixth Chinese Patriarch Enō (慧能,[2] 638-713).

3.1 The Ten Ox Herding Pictures

The Ten Ox Herding Pictures is a parable of the process that leads to enlightenment: a young shepherd has lost his ox and goes to look after it. He first sees it from a distance, then little by little gets nearer and nearer, until he can seize it. Ultimately the ox is caught and the shepherd controlling the ox comes back home on his back playing a flute. The ox is a *mitate* of enlightenment, and the young shepherd is that of the man in search of it.

2 The names of Chinese Buddhist masters are given in their Japanese version.

3.2 *The Poem of the Mirror* by the Sixth Chinese Patriarch Enō

This example is particularly meaningful for what will be said afterwards. The Fifth Chinese Patriarch ordered his disciples to write a poem (*gāthā*) in order to express their comprehension of enlightenment. The author of the best poem will receive transmission and will become the Sixth Patriarch.

The foremost disciple Jinshū 神秀 (seventh century) wrote:

> The body is a Bodhi tree
> The mind is a standing clear mirror
> Polish it diligently all time
> And let no dust remain on it.

In this poem the "clear mirror" is a *mitate* of the mind of enlightenment: mirror ⇒ an object that reflects reality ⇒ *mitate* ⇒ human mind.

If dust covers the mirror, the latter cannot reflect faithfully. In the same manner, a mind obscured by a whirl of thoughts cannot see clearly the phenomena. Only wiping it all the time, it may remain clear: this is Jinshū's comprehension.

However, Enō (who will become the Sixth Patriarch) reading Jinshū's poem, replies with a counter-poem that says:

> In Bodhi originally there isn't any tree
> The clear mirror is not a stand
> Originally not a single thing is existent
> Where could dust be attracted?
> (Yampolsky 1967, 130-2)

Reading the two above poems from the point of view of *mitate*, Jinshū says that the body is a tree where enlightenment (Bodhi) is present, and the mind is a clear mirror. So, if we wipe away our attachments and passions (dust), the mind (mirror) will remain clear and man can attain enlightenment.

According to Enō there is no tree of the Bodhi, not even the mirror (mind). Since not a single phenomenon is existent, there is no place for dust (attachments and passions) to be attracted. In this way, he speaks from the point of view of the Void. He rejects the fact that there can be something by which man is caught.

While Jinshū's comprehension is based on a logical assumption, that is a relative approach, Enō's, instead, is based on the point of view of the absolute: nothing exists ⇒ the mirror also does not exist ⇒ therefore, dust cannot be attracted by anything ⇒ in conclusion, returning to the *mitate*, also 'mind' does not exist.

Enō seeing mind and enlightenment from the point of view of the 'void' cannot but arrive to that conclusion.

From the above poems, we can say that while Jinshū has a 'constructive' approach, Enō is in the position of a 'de- constructive' approach.

This means that according to Enō, enlightenment cannot be reached with a logical approach. In other words, while Jinshū's poem is a comprehension from a point of view of 'relative truth' (俗諦), that of Enō is from the position of 'absolute truth' (真諦).

The poem based on the 'relative truth' uses *mitate*: mirror as mind, clearness as enlightenment. Whereas, the poem based on the 'absolute truth' rejects *mitate*: refusing to establish parallels, it shows reality as it is.

4 Dōgen's 'de-constructive' *mitate*

There are examples, in *Shōbōgenzō*, where Dōgen rejects Jinshū's 'constructive approach' in favour of the Enō's 'de-constructive approach'. In his teaching of enlightenment by means of *mitate*, Dōgen is convinced that the logical approach is ineffective and thinks that only an intuitive approach can lead to awakening, which is to be perceived deeply within the human being.

Also in the practice of Zen called *kōan* 公案, an extra-logical approach is implemented in order to catch the real matter of reality. Dōgen is not interested in *mitate* as a literary rhetorical tool, rather as a tool to point to enlightenment.[3]

Let us see a few examples of the 'de-constrictive approach' of Dōgen's *mitate*.

4.1 Polish a Tile

In Chinese Chan literature, there is a famous anecdote of the Chinese master Baso Dōitsu 馬祖道一 (709-788), called "polishing a tile to make a mirror" (磨磚成鏡). The story says: Baso was the disciple of master Nangaku 南嶽. Baso was sitting in *zazen* when master Nangaku came by and asked him what he hoped to obtain by sitting in *zazen*. Baso said that he was trying to obtain buddhahood. Then Nangaku picked up a tile and began rubbing it. Baso asked the master what he was doing and Nangaku replied that he was triying to polish it into a mirror. Baso said that this was impossible, and the master retorted: "how can you become a Buddha by sitting in zazen?"

3 On *kōan* language see He-Jin Kim, *The Reason of Words and letters. Dōgen and Koan Language*, in LaFleur 1985, 54-82.

Dōgen comments:

> 「大聖もし磨磚の法なくは、いかでか為人の方便あらん」(Sokuō 1965, 1: 300)
> If master Nangaku did not have the strategy of polishing a tile, how could he teach his pupils?

Again Dōgen comments:

> 「いまの人も、いまの磚(かわら)を拈じ磨(ま)してこゝろみるべし、さだめて鏡とならん。磚もし鏡とならずは、人ほとけになるべからず」(301)
> Even the persons of today should try to keep a tile in their hands and polish it. Surely it will become a mirror. If polishing, the tile does not turn into a mirror, people cannot turn into Buddhas.

The story of polishing a tile is clearly a *mitate*, but in the hands of Dōgen ceases to be a *mitate* and becomes the 'true thing'. It is the same as the flower that the Buddha Śākyamuni gave to Mahākāśyapa in a 'special transmission'. In Zen this is called '*ishindenshin*' (direct transmission from mind to mind 以心伝心), which is a special and mysterious transmission.

Dōgen uses *mitate* as a 'skillful means' (*hōben* 方便) in order to give a special and 'mysterious' (*myō* 妙) teaching. In fact, polishing a tile is a *mitate* that is normally interpreted as the fact of sitting in *zazen* does not lead to buddhahood. However, depending of the interpretation, this *mitate* can change its meaning and function. The normal interpretation of polishing a tile makes of it a *mitate*: the tile is the person doing *zazen*, the mirror the enlightened mind, and the polishing the practice of *zazen*.

However, Dōgen gives this *mitate* an original and profound meaning: going beyond logic reasoning, he explains the story from a special and mysterious point of view. Starting from a negative approach to the fact of not becoming a mirror and not obtaining buddhahood, he gives a positive interpretation of it, that is becoming a mirror and obtaining buddhahood. In this way, polishing a tile ceases to be a *mitate* as such and becomes the 'real thing'.

In the poem by Jinshū, things are stated separately, i.e. mirror as mirror, dust as dust, but in Enō's poem, things are not separate: since all phenomena are at the same time delusive and also enlightenment, they do not exist as such. This is a omni-comprehensive approach and Dōgen takes the same stand, that is from the point of view of absolute truth.

4.2 "Kūge", The Flowers in the Sky (or in the Void)

In the chapter "Kūge" (空華) there is a very interesting *mitate*. The word *kūge* means 'flowers in the sky' or 'flowers in the void', and as a *mitate* it refers to a hallucinatory view of reality, that is illusion. Flowers in the

sky do not exist and their existence is due only to an illness of the eyes.

Dōgen says:

> 「迦牟尼仏言、「《又如翳人、見空中華、翳病若除、華於空滅》」。この道著、あきらむる学者いまだあらず。」とある。(Sokuō 1965, 2: 167)
> Śākyamuni Buddha said: "again, it is like a person with an illness of the eyes who sees flowers in the sky. If the illness disappears also the view of flowers disappear. However, there is not yet a single scholar (of Buddhism) who has understood this expression.

> The structure of this *mitate* is as follows: flowers in the sky (*mitate*) ⇒ seen because of the illness of the eyes ⇒ flowers that do not exist ⇒ illusory flowers: illusion.

The meaning is: 'since the common people cannot see true reality, deluded, they see flowers in the sky that do not exist'. This is the normal attitude of common people viewing reality. If illusion disappears, true reality manifests itself. Therefore, if the eye illness is cured, people can attain awakening (view of true reality). This is s very simple teaching.

However, Dōgen gives a different interpretation of this *mitate*. In fact he says: "there is not yet a single scholar (of Buddhism) who has understood this expression". His interpretation is 'de-constructive' and reads the *mitate*, not as such, but as the 'true thing': "if the illness disappears also the view of flowers disappear [= illusion disappear]". However, Dōgen rejects the consequence that, if illusion disappears, enlightenment manifests itself.

He says:

> 「諸法実相なれば翳花実相なり」(169)
> All phenomena being the true aspect of reality, [also] flowers in the sky seen with eyes illness are true reality.

Again he says:

> 「しかあればしるべし、翳花の乱墜(らんつい＝落下)は諸仏の現成なり、眼空の花果(花と実)は諸仏の保任(ほにん＝保ってたえる)なり」(172)
> Therefore, we should know that the fall (from the sky) of so many flowers seen with the eyes illness is the realization of all Buddhas, and the fruit and flowers of the eyes of the sky is doing all Buddhas our own.

As a consequence,

> 「こゝをもて、翳也全機現、眼也全機現。空也全機現、花也全機現なり」(172-3)
> Therefore, the illness of the eyes is the 'manifestation of the entire dynamic activity' (*zenki* 全機), and the eyes are the manifestation of the entire

> dynamic activity. The sky is the manifestation of the entire dynamic activity and the flowers are the manifestation of the entire dynamic activity.

All phenomena, just as they are, are enlightenment. Also illusion is part of enlightenment; therefore, also illusion is the manifestation of the entire dynamic activity. This 'manifestation of the entire dynamic activity' is nothing else than 'true reality'.

According to the two above-quoted examples, that of "polishing the tile" and that of "flowers in the sky" (but others as well can be mentioned), we can draw the conclusion that for Dōgen *mitate* strategy is 'de-costructive', since he denies the separation or opposition between the element *in praesentia* (flowers in the sky) and that *in absentia* (illusion). In simple terms: he denies that, as a consequence, the removal of illusion leads to the view of 'true reality', that is awakening, since illusion is a part of 'true reality'. Enlightenment and illusion belong to the same one-only reality.

In the same way, the impossibility of a tile to become a mirror and the opposition between tile and mirror are denied. In a special and mysterious manner (妙), tiles can become mirrors and, in the same way, men can become Buddhas. At another level, Dōgen wants us to understand that the opposition between Buddhas and common people does not exist: Buddhas are common people and vice versa.

Mitate is based on difference and similarity: similar but different, such as rain and tears. The contrast allows *mitate* to exist. However, when tiles become mirrors and flowers in the sky are true reality, *mitate* has no ground for existence. Dōgen uses *mitate* in order to de-construct *mitate* and, thus, overturns false views. *Mitate* is based on ordinary logic, but the dimension of enlightenment is outside the scope of logic and belongs to the realm of intuition, where tiles become mirrors and flowers in the sky are real. In *mitate* the element *in praesentia* is a vehicle leading to that *in absentia*, but for Dōgen nothing is a shade of something else since all is the true thing.

4.3 *Mitsugo*

Mitate consists of a 'hidden language' that, in esoteric teachings, corresponds to secret words. In Japanese esoteric Buddhism, such words are called *mitsugo* 密語, 'secret language or words'.

In Zen, which is based on a direct transmission from master to disciple, and outside the written language (*tanden* 単伝, *furyūmonji* 不立文字), there is the word *mitsuin* (密印), which means 'subtle signs' that are words that, by means of 'mysterious signs' (*myō na in* 妙な印), can lead to enlightenment, or that show the attained enlightenment..

Generally speaking, *mitsugo* means 'secret language' and in Japan it is largely used in the esoteric Buddhist school of Shingon, i.e. a language

such as that of *dhāranī* and *mantra*, used in secret transmission and addressed only to initiates. Secret language is the language that directly expresses the ultimate truth.

In *Shōbōgenzō* there is a chapter called "Mitsugo", which explains what is the real meaning of 'secret words' according to Dōgen.[4] In this chapter, Dōgen, as an example of wordless transmission, takes up the famous tale of the flower shown by the Buddha to his disciple Mahākāśyapa and of his smile of comprehension (*nengemishō* 拈華微笑) and comments:

> 「すでに世尊なるは、かならず密語あり。密語あれば、さだめて迦葉不覆蔵あり(Sokuō 1965, 2: 247)
> All the Honoured Ones (Buddhas) have secret language. Since there is secret language, there certainly is a Mahākāśyapa who unveils it.

And after this:

> 「汝若不会世尊密語、汝若会迦葉不覆蔵」(247)
> If you do not understand, it is the Honoured One's language. If you understand it is Mahākāśyapa unveiling the secret language.

This means that Mahākāśyapa has the task of unveiling the secret language and, by this, of leading human beings to salvation. However, man must make any possible effort in order to understand the secret language of the Honoured One.

> 「参学すといふは、一時に会取せんとおもはず、百廻千廻も審細功夫して、かたきものをきらんと経営するがごとくすべし。かたる人あらば、たちどころに会取すべしとおもふべからず」(248)
> By studying, do not think that you can understand everything immediately, but exerting to the utmost strive a hundred or even a thousand times, as if you were trying to cut through something hard. Do not imagine that when someone has something to relate to you, you should immediately understand what is being said.

Secret language (*mitsugo*) is of course difficult to understand, however, striving "a hundred or even a thousand times, as if you were trying to cut through something hard", also common people can do the same as Mahākāśyapa.

However,

> 「愚人おもはく、密は他人のしらず、みづからはしり、しれる人あり、しらざる人ありと」(250-1)

4 For the english translation of this chapter, see Tanahashi, *Enlightenment Unfolds*, 179-184.

> Stupid people think that *mitsu(go)* is not comprehensible by other people[5] and is only for oneself, and there are people who cannot understand.

This is a "stupid" way of thinking, actually it is not like that. In other words, according to Dōgen what we call "secret language" is not secret, and this is an important point that shows Dōgen's originality.

> 「いはんや天眼天耳、法眼法耳、仏眼仏耳等を具せんときは、すべて密語密意あるべからずといふべし。仏法の密語・密意・密行等は、この道理にあらず」(251)
> When one is equipped with sharp eyes and sharp ears, or the eyes and the ears of the Law, the eyes and the ears of the Buddha, there can be no such thing as 'secret language' and 'secret intentions'. 'Secret language', 'secret intentions' and 'secret practice' is not in accord with the Buddhist Law.

This means that Dōgen considers 'secret language' and anything else that is 'secret' as non existent or impossible to exist. For those who have sharp eyes and ears, that is for those who are attentive and are good learners of the Way (*Dō*), there are no secrets, since everything is clearly manifested. 'True reality' is always under our eyes and ears, but often we are not able to see and to hear.

In order to explain this point of view, Dōgen uses an ingenious linguistic strategy:

> 「いはゆる密は、親密の道理なり。無間断なり」(251)
> What is called 'secret' actually is 'familiar', 'intimate'. It is in-mediate.

The word and character for 'secret' (密) strangely have two very different, almost opposite, meanings: 1) secret and 2) familiar, intimate. Dōgen interprets the '*mitsu*' (secret) of *mitsugo,* not as a "secret" but with the second meaning, as something "familiar" and "intimate". Therefore, *mitsugo*, from the meaning of 'secret language', becomes a 'familiar, or intimate language', that is an in-mediate language: a language which is not mediated by conventions, pointing directly to the true reality.

This approach, seen from the point of view of *mitate*, leads to change the meaning of *mitate* from the interpretation of 'hidden language' in which something in the forefront indirectly points to something in the backstage, to a language that directly points to true reality. Language ceases to be a tool that has hidden meanings and cross-references and becomes a manifestation of the dimension of enlightenment.

5 Namely those who are not initiated.

What we consider to be secret language – metaphors[6] and *mitate* – are, for Dōgen, the 'real thing' and not a shade for something else, if only they are well understood by making efforts for their comprehension.

Dōgen considers language to be a tool with which it is possible to manifest ultimate reality and, therefore, *sūtras* – i.e. the words of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs, the so-called 'secret language', *mitate* and so on –are an 'intimate and 'direct' language, a 'true language' (*shingon* 真言), which is a clear and manifest one that shows us enlightenment, just like fishes swimming in the endless water and birds flying in the vast sky.

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6 On 'language and symbols' see Kim 1987, 77-95.

New Steps in Japanese Studies
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Multiple Modernities and Japan
Nagai Kafū and H.G. Wells

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Abstract This article aims to explore the analytical framework and its basic premises to consider the situation of current societies as multiple second modernities under *glocalization* and deals with Japan as its case study. This paper analyses different patterns of relationships among the individual, the intermediate group and the state in each region/local area, and tracks the transformation of those patterns in the contemporary society. Sometimes the structural tension inherent in modern society between traditional and more 'contractual' elements after modern, is expressed in the institutional patterns of the relations among the individual, the intermediate group and the state in each area. In current society, which is the age of multiple second modernities, the relational pattern is expressed in the configuration of individuality (not individual), intermediate networks (not intermediate group) and transforming state (not just state). To observe the distinctness of each locality in plurality, we need to consider not only the institutional structure of these three factors but also the more fundamental logic for collectivity/individual formation in each society in question. Considering the example of Nagai Kafū's and H.G. Wells' works, the article investigates this issue. In considering these issues, the article focuses on contemporary Japan as one of the cases of the multiple second modernities under glocalization based on the observation of Japan's historical and cultural distinctness.

Keywords Multiple modernities. Glocalization. Intermediate group.

1 Introduction

Theories of modernisation have developed throughout the stages, from the stage of convergence through that of comparison, to 'multiple modernities' (S. N. Eisenstadt). While the idea of modernity transformed itself facing the arguments of the post-modern, there have been significant (counter)arguments of 'high modernity', 'reflexive modernity' and 'second modernity' (U. Beck). In this article, I will explore the subject that I call 'Eisenstadt-Beck nexus issue' as regards multiple second modernities under 'glocalization'.

When examining the distinctiveness of non-Western countries' mod-

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ernisation process, especially that of East Asia and Japan, we should take into account the significance of the issue of received modernity before the issue of compressed modernity. In the case of the West (which is an 'ideal typical' expression), the same driving force that led to break the tradition from inside also constructed the modern after the breakthrough (see the Weberian arguments of protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism). By contrast, as for East Asia, the driving force of breaking through the tradition is a combination of a fatal impact (threat of colonisation) from the outside by the Western powers and the vulnerable structure of the tradition from within. On this condition of 'received modernity', the construction process of the modern started.

This is the fundamental difference between the initial condition of East Asia in its modernisation process and that of the West. It is this difference of initial condition that made the entire process of modernisation different. The nature of compressed modernity is only a part of what started after the issue and the condition of the reception.

The process of non-Western modernisation can be oriented by two elements: 1) condition of reception; 2) constructive force for modernisation after the breakthrough of the tradition. Then, the condition of reception can be furthermore broken down into two elements: 1) vulnerability of tradition resisting during the process of breakthrough; 2) existence of the elements of structural similarities with the West.

Owing to the last two elements, the modernisation process proceeds rapidly. I argue that the issue of compressed modernity concerns this rapid process, yet this should not be just the matter of the speed of compressed time, but the distinctive (sometimes twisted) pattern of the process of modernisation that appeared in a short period of time. As a 'compressed' modernity, in the case of Japan, the distinctive pattern of modernity appeared in terms of two interactive factors: 1) the pattern of the relationship among three elements, i.e. the individual, the intermediate group and the state; 2) the aspect of traditional Japan's structural similarities (that is to say 'functional rationality') with the West.

The condition of reception mainly concerns the first modernity and its pattern was already different from that of the West in terms of the relational pattern among the individual, the intermediate group and the state. Also as a compressed modernity, the features of the second modernity could appeared to be precocious in the first modernity.

The significant factor of the second modernity is its glocal nature, since it is inevitable and strongly involved in the global arena and appeared vis-à-vis the arena with all its distinctiveness. In this context, we can term the second modernity more accurately as 'multiple second modernities' or 'multiple glocalities'.

This article aims to consider the analytical framework and basic premises while exploring the situation of multiple second modernities under

glocalization, and deals with Japan as a case study. In doing so, this article sets as its subject the different patterns of relationships between the individual, intermediate groups and the state in each region/local area and tracks the transformation of these patterns in contemporary society. As an implication, it concomitantly explores the relationship between globalisation and sociological theory.

The structural tensions inherent in modern society between traditional and more 'contractual' elements are periodically expressed in the institutional patterns of the relationships between the individual, intermediate groups and the state in each area. As a part of its basic analytical frame, this article considers the similarities and the differences between the theory of glocalization and that of multiple modernities in order to articulate the two approaches; then, the article tries to form a typology of the West, the USA and Japan in terms of their relational patterns with respect to the three factors mentioned above. In the age of multiple second modernities, relational patterns are expressed as configurations of individuality (and not the individual), intermediate networks (not intermediate groups) and transforming states (and not just states in their traditional shape but transforming itself in responding to global impact and intervention). To observe the distinctness of each locality in all its plurality, we need to consider not only the institutional structure of the three factors but also the more fundamental logic behind all collective/individual formations in each society in question.

In considering these issues, the article focuses on the case of Japan in order to analyse contemporary Japan as one of the states that exhibit multiple second modernities under the glocalization process. Our findings are based on observations of Japan's historical and cultural distinctness.

'Multiple second modernities' indicate first that the pattern or course of modernisation differs according to the distinct cultural and historical course of development in each area, and then that they are transforming in contemporary society as the second modernity. It should be mentioned that this sort of attempt itself presupposes the condition or the problems that the localities emerge only in the contacts/negotiations with the global arena. In the following sections, the article will describe the distinctiveness of each area, i.e. the areas of 'Japan,' 'USA' and the 'West', which are the 'names' by which certain locations are just indicated and not presupposed as fixed entities.

The subject of multiple modernities, then, immediately provokes the issue of why it should still be called 'modernity' (Eisenstadt 2002, 3). Eisenstadt argues that its common core lies within the intense reflexivity and inner dynamics by which it re-creates itself in persisting manner. According to him, though the reflexivity was first crystallised in the axial age, it characterises the age of modern, when reflexivity is renewed in its intensity far stronger than ever (Eisenstadt 2002, 4). The driving force

of this reflexivity lies within the tension inherent in modernity itself. The tension comes from the contradiction between traditional and modern sectors and the inherent tension between (formal) rationality, which has been the leitmotif of modernity, and the authentic cultural tradition of each society (Eisenstadt 2002, 12). It is not impossible to describe the internal tension by means of the common indications of modernity in terms of its more concrete social process or institutional structures, even though these could still remain very basic descriptions. For example, they are

> growing structural differentiation, urbanization, industrialization, growing communications […], the development of new institutional formations, of the modern nation-state, of modern, especially national, collectivities, of new and above all capitalist-political economies; and, last but not least, a distinct cultural program. (Eisenstadt 2003, 520-1)

Anyhow we can here presuppose the common indications of modernity.

The tension between the two elements was already salient in the first modernity in the West, but it becomes more and more intensified in the course of the expansion of its shock wave beyond the West, through America, Asia, and then South America and Africa. When the shock wave reached, for example, Asian countries by its encounter with or, rather, crash of 'authentic' cultural traditions in each area, their concrete figuration became more and more diversified. In this regard, the process of modernisation in the world is the process of amplification of the extent of diversification/multiplicity of modernity itself.

One of the aims of the article is to explore the phase in which the tension is expressed in terms of institutional/structural figuration as the different shape of relational pattern of the three elements of individual, intermediate group and the state in each area. It is observed that the fundamental tension of modernity is institutionalised in the triad relational pattern of the three elements. The article also tracks the assumption according to which multiple modernities are included in the transformational process of the transition from the first to the second modernity.

In his paper of 2000, Beck describes the characteristics of contemporary society in fifteen items (Beck 2003; Beck, Gernsheim 2002). For instance, identity becomes 'radical non-identity' or 'contested transitional identity', and the sense of place is transformed from 'monogamy' in the first modernity to 'polygamy' in the second modernity. Also the belief in the progress has disappeared; the value of "bigger, more and better" has declined, and the fundamental categories in the first modernity as an industrial society has turned out to be 'zombie categories' now (Beck 2003).

But, on the one hand, the difference of his arguments from the postmodern one lies within his pointing the importance of the double sided operation of the re-constructing process of the detachment of the indi-

vidual from the institutions of first modernity and, on the other, the re-institutionalisation movement for the individual, even though the process can be very unstable too. Individuals are now forced to combine and use those institutions for their own way of life and, at the same time, these processes of combination and utilization of institutions are in a global uncertainty and the global risks. According to Beck, the notion of 'institutionalized individualism' is tied to a fundamental paradox in the society of second modernity.

With regard to the issue of the theoretical relationship between globalisation and modernisation, in identifying the difference between these two theories, we can argue that it concerns the emphasis given on which side of the theory, i.e. either on diffusion (the globalisation theory) or functional interdependence (the modernisation theory) of the elements within one area. From the standpoint of the historical development of the theories, functionalism appeared as a critic against diffusionism as 'a patchwork theory' of culture. Since the theory of globalisation came after the theory of modernisation that is based on the functionalist premise, it cannot be a simple return back to diffusionism and we cannot ignore functionalist ideas, even though, interestingly enough, it is still not irrelevant to diffusionism. The focal point in the arguments of glocalization lies within their tracking the process of articulation of the local and the universal in one area. In this sense of glocality, the combination of the 'world city' and the state where the world city is embedded, appeared as one of the examples of the performance of this glocality. Thus, the state has to transform itself in the process of coping/negotiating with globalisation (Sassen [1999] 2003).

In the arguments of modernisation, scholars such as Eisenstadt and Bellah saw the critical significance of the elements of 'the transcendental' in terms of value-orientation in the case of the West, namely the transcendental nature of ultimate value (conscious = Geistes authority) beyond secular world including the state. For Weber, this is the point of departure/criterion for the comparison of world religions; for Eisenstadt, the base for his study of the historical development from the axial age, and for Bellah the base for his study on Japanese religion. Then, according to Maruyama (1998), Mizubayashi (2002) and others, in Japan there have been some transcendental thoughts and religions but these have not been dominant/decisive factors in Japanese history. These transcendental thoughts and 'religions' are different from Weber's West.

Anyhow, when we seriously – and paying attention to local distinctiveness – consider the construction of the theory of glocalisation, we tend to enter into the scope of the articulation of the globalisation theory with the arguments of multiple modernities. Namely the theory of glocalisation should absorb the sense of deepness of locality by means of a historical/diachronic approach to the arguments of multiple modernities on the one

hand, and the arguments of multiple modernities should learn the notion of a trans-border flow of people, things and images in one world from the horizontal/synchronic approach of glocalization theory, on the other.

2 Individual, Intermediate Groups and the State

Another key word is the intermediate group. The idea to consider the middle-size group as bearing an intermediate function between the individual and the state is an idea as old as the emergence of sociology itself. This indicates that sociology emerged as a counter-argument against the Enlightenment in its atomistic individualism in the eighteenth century.

Social thought in the Enlightenment tends to presuppose the direct connection between atomistic and abstracted individual on the one hand and abstracted as well as universal reason on the other, and tries to eliminate particular intermediate structures/organisations between the two, regarding them as obstacles. The universal corresponding to the reason on the ultimate pole in this configuration should ideally be the whole world but actually it is the domain overlapped to the emerging nation-state. In the issue of the breakaway from the ancient regime, the configuration of the intermediate group that can be antagonistic to the state – while confronting or relating to it – is characteristic of the modernisation of the West, even though the critical point is that the individuals who were deprived of the old shell of the intermediate group are simultaneously connected to each other in the solidarity of a new community of ideals; in this regard, they are the people who constructed new social groups. In any case, there are indefinite different focal points to describe the West, and this is just an angle in this particular context of the article. The same consideration should be applied to Japan, the USA, and so forth.

As for the West, in its very initial shape during the first modernity, it tried to crush the shell of the intermediate group to construct the nation-state and it needed to form the configuration of the bare individual directly confronting with the state. Contrary to the type of configuration in the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century as the age of organisation (or more exactly, of re-organisation) headed towards the rediscovery of the significance of the intermediate group vis-à-vis the turmoil that the eighteenth century suffered because of that atomistic configuration. De Tocqueville, Comte and Durkheim are among the advocates of this new trend of the age of re-organisation. Sociology *per se* emerged as the sociological ideology (see Parsons 1974-5[1]) of the age of organisation.

1 Parsons, Talcott (unpublished). "The Sociology of Knowledge and the History of Ideas". *Parsons Papers*. Harvard University Archives.

In the case of the USA, as Tocqueville so vividly described, in the setting of nothing (or almost nothing) similar to the ancient regime as a pre-existing condition, no absolute state emerged; intermediate groups were only reliable social entities through their lively act and exchange with each other; and the nation was imagined community. In this regard, it was a configuration of a simultaneous emergence of individual, intermediate group and state. Tocqueville took this configuration from the standpoint of the age of re-organisation in the West. Bellah in his *Habits of the Heart* tackled this sort of American tradition in his own context of the late twentieth-century America as the post-mass society situation.

Almost on the contrary, in the case of Japan, there has been an old and new question concerning the residential organisation (old/traditional intermediate group) represented by the traditional 'association of community' (previously called *burakukai*, now known as *jichikai*), i.e. whether it is just the end unit of the state and the subcontract machine of administrative bureaucracy or not. Also there is a question regarding how we should understand the relationship between NPO activities and the *jichikai*. Here I want to contrast the above configurations: basically here we have the problematic and historical setting that the intermediate group was incorporated into the state, in an ideal typological sense again. Eisenstadt pointed out that the characteristic of Japanese modernity lies within its conflation of civil sector with the state and this trait makes the case of Japan exceptional compared to other modernities in the world (Eisenstadt 2002, 15). Also Sakuta Kei'ichi, setting the subject relating to this article, pointed that, in Japan's case, the autonomy of the intermediate group, which is "situated in-between society and individual", has been very weak (Sakuta 1967, 13).

As for the relational pattern of the three elements, individual, intermediate groups and the state, Maruyama once pointed in his "Various Patterns of Individuation" in the following way. The pattern of individuation in Japan tends to appear in the combination of atomisation and privatisation (at least as its tendency), in contrast to the principle in the West, in which autonomous individuals and their solidarity with associations appear simultaneously. Thus, Maruyama defined the situation in Japan as follows: "in short, all events seemed to point to the full-fledged growth of 'mass society' in a tiny, though central, part of the country" and to the "premature appearance of aspects of mass society", which appeared in geographically limited areas but were conspicuous due to the metamorphosis of the megacity of Tokyo (Maruyama 1965, 518, 530). Also with other writings, Maruyama argued that the characteristics of Japan's modernisation lies within its phenomenon of ultra-nationalism as the conflation of secular power with the spiritual authority of Emperor regime in contrast to the case of the West in which individuals emerged by the transcendental conscious authority over the secular state. Maruyama obviously is a thinker

who radically digested the problematics put by Weber in the sense mentioned above.

Sakuta also suggested that, such as the disorganisation of traditional folk society's proceeding, is a "common transformational process in the world" and such as the mass society development, this brings about the matter of the blurring of the intermediate groups' borders, along with the cross-cutting nature of the groups that leads to the discrepancy/misunderstanding of the definition of the situation. In this new situation, he also suggested that not necessarily the "consciousness of guilty" by the internalisation process of value, but the "consciousness of shame" could prevail in larger and larger areas in the world (Sakuta 1967, 13-20). This is the general shift from the criterion of value to that of sentiments in the formation of consciousness, and this sort of recognition can hold basic validity as the analysis on the present situation of the world and may not be confined to Asia (see Alexander, Thompson 2008). In the case of Japan, this fragility of the intermediate group existed before the mass society; thus, here we have "old and new characteristics of the culture of shame in Japan" (Sakuta 1967, 20). Here we have the arguments related to compressed modernity and the multilayered arrangements of the first and the second modernities in Japan.

Accordingly, in this article the following three prototypical configurations in the first modernity are supposed to be: 1) the intermediate group that can confront the state (the West); 2) the simultaneous emergence of individual, intermediate group and the state (the USA); 3) the problematic of the intermediate group incorporated into the state (Japan). To avoid any misunderstandings, this concerns only the situation of first modernity in the very initial shape of its ideal-typical, prototypical and basic configuration. With regard to the settings of the West, the article should also mention that the intermediate group in the West was not fragile but rather had strong roots in the society. Otherwise, we cannot understand why Beck maintains, in the arguments of the second modernity, that individuals are now finally 'unstuck' from the modern institutions (see the intermediate groups in this article) and that those who do not have any traditional reliable entity in contrast to the first modernity anymore become desolate.

2.1 The Japanese Pattern of the Intermediate Group. The Two-Faceted Structure of Intermediate Group in Japan

Sato once argued the issue of "two-faceted structure of intermediate groups in Japanese society" (2003). He pointed that "communal public sphere" such as neighbourhood organisation and cooperation units among neighbourhood residents in Japan's tradition have been situated as the end unit of a power structure so as to incorporate them into the power

framework of government. To set against the tradition he claimed the possibility of 'civic public sphere' as associations working through networks among the citizens who have common interests and a common sense of problematics (Sato 2003, 6-10).

An issue related to the 'weakness' of the intermediate groups in Japanese tradition – claimed by Sato, Eisenstadt and Sakuta – is that of the 'Ie' household arguments that have long lists of references. These arguments concern the 'Ie' (家, a Japanese type of household) that has been an end unit of the political governance of the feudal domain/the state; the ensuing structure, therefore, has been a series of domination apparatus through the Ie-village/domain/central-government concatenation. Thus, the problematic here is: how could we transform the Ie into something that (can) escape from the controlling structure and construct the civic public sphere? Actually this article believes that there has been a considerable transformation in this tradition in the second modernity in contemporary Japan, even though it concomitantly deals with numerous additional problems.

Before proceeding with the issue of the second modernity in Japan, we have to look at the subject of basic logic in the deeper layer of collectivity/individual formation in Japanese society that defines the concrete shape of the relational pattern of the three elements mentioned here.

3 Deeper Layer of Collectivity/Individual Formation. Two Stories of Runaways: *Bokuto Kitan* (by Nagai Kafū) and *The Door in the Wall* (by H.G. Wells)

However, in this further investigation, the dimension of the layer of the deeper cultural disposition – which is seemingly invisible – appears to be the most difficult to understand in articulating different modernities. On that layer, however, every visible combination of the three elements aforementioned are standing. To delineate the layer the article draws upon two novels from two modernities of UK and Japan.

Bokuto Kitan is one of the masterpieces written by Nagai Kafū (1879-1959), a famous Japanese novelist in the late Meiji to Shōwa period, and a son of one of the founding fathers and economic giants of the Meiji regime. The novel consists of many different sorts of dual structure. First, it has a layer in which the 'I' as a narrator/writer is wondering around the area called Bokuto to obtain some materials for his novel entitled *Runaway*. Therefore, the novel can be termed as a meta-novel since this structure is a novel in a novel. Also, as a different kind of layer, the 'I' confesses that he has a tendency of having a double personality and discloses only one face of them. Yet another layer is a spatial double structure. 'I', as a successful writer who lives in a Western style mansion in uptown Tokyo, visits the labyrinth of narrow paths in the prostitution area in downtown

Tokyo every day and spends a double life hiding in there. 'I' spends a life of 'habitat segregation' shuttling between the two spaces, and feels pleasure and nostalgia in hiding himself (running away) in this downtown labyrinth, which is a sort of enchanted garden. Kafū as a Japanese modern man, thus, experienced his double-faceted daily life in his habitat segregation.

Meanwhile the leading character of Wells' (1866-1946) *The Door in the Wall* is a parliament man of the British National Assembly who was brought up in a distinguished and rigorous family. One day he ran away on the way to the Parliament to vote on an important decision. In this context, this is also a story of a runaway. Yet the next day his body was found in a deep hole on the construction site of a street. What happened?

In his infancy, as a precocious and honour student raised in a rigorous family, he once lost his way in a London street. Then, when he escaped from his house, he found the tempting door on the white wall for the first time in his life. Behind the door there was the 'enchanted garden' (Wells [1911] 1974, 148), filled with happiness by every nostalgic/beautiful things, and he noticed that his father got furious once he entered in it. After the first encounter, he had several chances to have a glance at the door. A second chance came to him when he was fascinated by the play called "Discovering the North West Passage" with his friends. Who can be the first to discover the shortest route to reach the school? Like Kafū's 'I' tried to be deeply versed in every back lanes and secret passes in the downtown Tokyo, Wells' leading character tried to come back to the secret enchanted garden by exploring every byway in London. In the middle of the play, he found the door on the street where "some rather low-class" (Wells [1911] 1974, 153) lives. If he enters there, he will be late for school. He was an honour student. He thought that he could come back later and went straight ahead to school.

Even after he grew up and become a successful politician, he never forgot about the door on the wall. One day, on his way to the Parliament to vote on another important decision, he saw the door again. But if he had stayed, he would have been late for the vote. He chose the reality and the duty to vote, even though he felt as if he had left his heart behind. In the Parliament he told to the ministerial whip that he "made a great sacrifice" to which the whip replied that "they all have" (Wells [1911] 1974, 158). Then, he became a Cabinet minister and one evening on his way from Parliament to home he ran away. Perhaps he once again saw the door, and finally this time he got to enter into it. This is a story of a runaway in a Western modern Great Britain. He could not spend a dual life of habitat segregation such as Kafū's 'I' could manage and enjoy, and he had to disappear from "this grey world" (Wells [1911] 1974, 151) to choose the pleasure in another world. The story seems to me a perfect description of what happens in the process of disenchantment of the world (*Entzauberung der Welt*, in Weber's words) in Western modern and what asceticism could mean in the process.

By constructing the contrast between Kafū and Wells, what I am trying to suggest here is that, according to Weber, the process of modernisation – namely the emancipation of the world from the magic (the process of dis-enchantment) by Protestantism – and the process of rationalisation should be the ones that are a methodological as well as a systematic reformation/rationalisation of the mundane world as a whole according to a transcendental criterion. This point is the focus of the debate between Bellah and Maruyama Masao. Bellah argued that Japan had achieved some rationalisation already in the pre-modern era, which resulted in Japan's rapid modernisation. Against this assertion, Maruyama put forward some counter-arguments and then asked why the fomentation and explosion of irrational sentiments of Emperor regime emerged in the process of Japan's modernisation. Instead, is it not the case that Japanese modernisation was not the systematic reformation of the entire mundane world including the state, by the transcendental criterion of ultimate value, but was the conflation of spiritual and magical authority of the Emperor and the mundane power of the state, thus of ultra-nationalism? The rational bureaucracy already existed in pre-modern Japan, but on the other side, though, some hedonistic another-world always simultaneously existed. This was related to the logic and the psychology of the habitat segregation in the instrumental rationality and the irrational world of 'free and easy going' ('let joy be unconfined', according to a Japanese saying) that co-existed side by side. While the Western notion of history can be described as the drama of 'all or nothing', the drastic alteration through the struggle to death between orthodoxy and heterodoxy (therefore the historical 'development'), the case of Japan can be considered as the world of habitat segregation – for example, almost every different kind of religion may coexist in 'peace'.

Weber's inner worldly asceticism cannot stop in front of the iron wall of the segregated domain in Japan. The logic of domain segregation reveals the tendency of side-by-side co-existence of the separated domains of rigorism and arbitrariness within one personality, which can be mobilised and used by one situation (field) and another. Once permitted and tolerated, this exceptionally hedonistic domain cannot stop invading and differentiating (in a mathematical sense) into every aspect of social behaviour. It is obvious that this type of principle tolerance (admission) of exceptional domain in the value system directly contradicts the idea of systemic application of the Weberian "ethic of asceticism" (Maruyama [1958] 1996, 287-8). Kafū enjoyed the opportunity of hiding and living in another world within this world, while the leading character of Wells' could not help disappearing from this world in order to enjoy that enchanted garden. Here we have the contrast between 'habitat segregation' and 'systematic rationalisation' in the deeper layer logic of collectivity/individual formation.

To combine this issue of deeper layer of logic of the social with relational pattern of the three elements (individual, intermediate group and

the state), we see not only the difference of patterns as such on that level, but also the mechanism according to which the pattern can be realised and emerge only within the more fundamental layer of logic. In the case of Japan, the ideal type of the relational pattern is exercised differently within each domain of functionality (public) and non-functional/non-rational (private) domains. We know that also in the Western configuration the difference between public and private is significant, but in the case of the West, there are an orientation towards one transcendental value (the Weberian ideal type of the modern) and diversifications stemmed from this fundamental orientation, while in the case of Japan this basic layer of value orientation *per se* can be different in each domain. Thus, according to these different value orientations, different relational patterns of the three elements can be formed in each domain in Japan. Even within the Japanese arrangement of the social, the relational pattern of the three elements can be different according to different domains. In the more functional domains, such as samurai's official work place and time, the intermediate group incorporated into the state is dominant and even almost perfectly prevailing, while, within more non-functional/non-rational domains, this pattern of arrangements is sometimes totally irrelevant.

This combination with a deeper layered logic of habitat segregation, as the presupposition for collectivity/individual formation, can be the initial condition to consider Japanese modernisation. The next focal issue is, however, how this initial condition has been transformed or not transformed in the second modernity of contemporary Japan.

4 Second Modernity in Japan under Glocalization

The year 1995, when the Great Hanshin Awaji earthquake hit the city of Kobe, was called the first year when the real volunteer activities started in Japan. The same year, the case of the 'subway sarin gas' by the new radical religious cult called 'Aum Shinrikyō' occurred. As Hannigan said (1995), some decisive events that attracted public attention can make the turning point in the social construction process of social problems including that of environmental and risk issues. With these two events in 1995, this year was marked as the turning point in people's acknowledgement of risk society in Japan.

One of the crucial problems at the time of the earthquake was the issue of the interrelation between residential organisation in the local area (old and traditional intermediate group) and the volunteers (new intermediate groups). In the process of recovery, many of those volunteers left, yet some people remained; the NPOs established in the course of the recovery continued to find their bearers among the local residents. In the process, it may be said that there are some residential organisations

that have been transformed by the impact of NPOs from outside the local area. Many Town Recovery/Formation Committees emerged there and were mainly constituted of local residents who sometimes pushed back the Recovery Plan made by the local government to transform it into a more residents-led type of plan, or actively participated in the process of making the recovery plan, while there are some other local areas that could not really participate. Either way, local/state government has to confront with this residential organisations as their partners of negotiation, or to put it differently, the governments were 'lucky' enough to find out their negotiation partners.

Yet one can ask what caused a different reaction on the part of these localities? Is that a difference in the quality of community solidarity that was already there, or is it due to the different level of interrelationship between new and old intermediate groups? Perhaps this is not due to the fact that on the one hand there was the old intermediate group that was old in every aspects and, on the other, there were new groups that were new in every aspects, and to the fact that these two groups could not be interrelated; as a matter of fact, they could not enter a network type of relationship, but only when they were transformed in order to be articulated with each other, did the opportunity of an interrelation of the two emerge.

In the wave of the second modernity, while it is said that it could be difficult to sustain the type of relationship of traditional intermediate groups, the new intermediate groups that have the logic of connection as a networking, fit with the condition of the second modernity.

The reason why the networking theory can be apt to the analysis on contemporary society is this: although there are some different types of networking theories, they all have one thing in common in their basic premise, i.e. these theories do not necessarily presuppose the solidarity by means of an internalisation of a common value system. It means that the premise of a networking theory can disengage the basic presupposition of Weberian modernity with regard to the principle of solidarity by systematic reformation of the world as a whole and by the solidarity through shared ideals, namely by transcendental value. The networking premise only presupposes that the connection is involved in the interchange and mobilisation process of social capital.

Of course, it can be argued that Coleman considers the norm as one of the social capitals (Coleman 1998). But, firstly, this sort of idea is only a part of the networking theories but, rather, the ideas of a weak tie or structural holes are preponderant; secondly, even the norm in this regard can be considered to be outsourced as one of the facilitating resources of connection. This does not concern the situation that is presented by the networking theory, namely the situation in which the solidarity of a certain group is sustained by a norm that is articulated as a role-status structure with certain group borders. According to the development of the network

theory, this part of dense relations and connections is conceptualised as a 'cluster' and, using the term, interrelation between new and old (traditional) intermediate groups can be rephrased as the relation between network and cluster that is a sort of more structured island in the sea of the networking.

The network theory is a breakthrough in the level of principle and its impact is rather significant and its range is longer than imagined. If the basic logic of modern sociological theory has been the one that presupposes the existence of universal or transcendental ideals that are beyond each concrete situation, and if the individuals are supposed to internalise those ideals, then only as its corollary can the modern theory explain the solidarity in each situation. Now, since the condition in that universal/transcendental ideals has broken down, one should ask why the connection/solidarity could still exist in each situation and how we could explain it.

The theories that are described as 'situational', such as Goffman's ethnomethodology, and the interaction theory are coping with the following issue. Among these theories, the network theory seems to be able to provide a logic of linkage between each situational field and a larger structure beyond that. Then, the questions are: why can these networks be connected and how are they caused? Then, by what kind of stuff is interchanged? Coleman conceptualised it as a mobilisation of social resources and a merit of a certain state of social structure.

The fact that NPO activities are supported by the mind-set of "think globally, act locally", namely sustained by glocalisation of culture that is beyond locality and blood ties as their mind-set, also signifies the fact that their consciousness is simultaneously fragmented. Appadurai says:

> They [the electronic media] are resources for experiments with self-making in all sorts of societies, for all sorts of persons […]. Because of the sheer multiplicity of the forms in which they appear (cinema, television, computers, and telephones) and because of the rapid way in which they move to through daily life routines, electronic media provide resources for self-imaging as an everyday social project. (Appadurai 1996, 3-4)

> The link between the imagination and social life, I would suggest, is increasingly a global and deterritorialized one. (55)

The network theory suggests a logic that can connect even the people living in the world described by Appadurai. Along the line of the triad relationship among the individual, the intermediate group and the state, nowadays the triad among individuality (not individual), the intermediate network (not intermediate group) and a transforming state (the state that is transforming itself in coping with globalisation) has to be presupposed. In other words, in the multiple second modernities under glocalisation, the

focal points concerned the following questions: what kind of relationship individuals could have with the state that is transforming itself in dealing with the 'embedded' globality (Sassen); the individuals connecting with each other through the network by interchanging social resources (Coleman); the individuals who have been 'unstuck' (Beck) from traditional institutions of old intermediate groups, who have 'polygamic' (Beck) sense and relationship with places and who could have only a transitional identity, in short, the individualised individuals.

5 Runaway Volunteers and the Network in Habitat Segregation

On the day that the Great Hanshin Awaji earthquake occurred, residents experienced the collapse of the sacred canopy (Berger), the canopy of the norm sustained by the legitimated cosmos set against the chaos, and suddenly the people who lived there were invaded by chaos. It was the moment of the awakening in which our society and its institutions are vulnerable canopies only set by ourselves and at any moments of time we can experience its collapse. It is our fundamental condition as the people living in this contemporary world that at any moment we can be unstuck from the institutions of society. The earthquake was the drastic and dramatic symbol of this condition.

Just after the earthquake, unexpectedly plentiful people – especially the young generation – came to the place as if they need to see that symbolic collapse, and they started their activities against the chaos. People who came to rescue the sufferers are not only from all over Japan but also from all over the world. The disaster-stricken area was suddenly exposed to the universal protocol to be rescued, which was a totally unfamiliar situation for Japan by then.

Another argument to which sociologists committed just after the earthquake was that of 'collective effervescence' (Durkheim). However, it can also be said that it was related to the arguments of euphoria that paradoxically emerged just after the sacred canopy collapsed (Berger). What the earthquake revealed was our (the contemporary people's, in general) daily condition of chronic euphoria that could be related to the arguments of re-enchantment in contemporary (consumer) society. The situation that can bring us chronic euphoria and re-enchantment, at least in a short span or during the collapse of the sacred canopy in its yoke of banal and conventional norms, is unstuck from traditional institutions, or more exactly freed from the conventional institution.

By now, we know much darker and more serious aspects about it. Here I mention only two of those instances, namely homeless people who are dwelling on the street and the net-café refugees who have to stay overnight at the cheapest accommodation that is the internet café. When the

Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan conducted the research for the period from January to February of 2003, 25.296 homeless people were living on the street; in January 2007 they dropped to 18.564. From the end of 2008 to 2009, there was an event caught the public attention in Japan, namely "The village for pull through the year-end" in Tokyo, where more than five hundred people who were divested of their part-time (dispatched) job, got together to survive the cold year-end supported by NPOs. In my view these phenomena are not just plainly a matter of poverty, however closely related to it, but they emerged by the process of being unstuck from the traditional institution called 'family'. In this regard, living in emergency shelters such as the situation just after the earthquake is the basic symptom of our age. We all are in a sense a homeless mind.

As a part of the effervescence theory, one might say that those volunteer people came to the earthquake sight to run away from their daily lives. But actually while there are some who ran away and never came back, there were others who temporarily stayed in the sight and then came back, or kept the pattern of shuttling between their home and the sight. This might be explained by the mechanism of the habitat segregation. Kafū enjoyed the habitat segregation and shuttled between the enchanted garden in downtown Tokyo and his western style mansion in uptown as his public and official house, and this could be the strategy that nowadays volunteer activists use as a form of re-enchantment. The logic of habitat segregation could imply that the domain of freedom, which is sector open to pleasure, can be kept in reserve in another place. The activities of volunteers and/or new intermediate groups may consist in forming networks in each space of the disaster-stricken area and living their own daily lives shuttling between the two spaces in the logic of habitat segregation. Naturally sometimes these two networks may cross each other and, in the process, one of them can form the cluster by making intimate linkage with the traditional and old type of intermediate groups that accumulated in the local area.

Kafū, as a Japanese modern man, lived in two separated spaces and temporarily ran away to downtown to hide himself. This type of separation and fragmentation of time and space has drastically accelerated in these days and volunteers (then, the young generations) are now running away in the contemporary configuration of time and space in this world. Differentiating the habitat segregation of time and space *per se* into minute details means having a transitional identity as a self (subject) and forming polygamic networks with different places. Though there has been the problematic of intermediate group incorporated into the state, this has been mainly confined to the phase of formal and technological rationality, and on the reverse side of it there has always been the space for enchantment. The state that has been trying to incorporate the intermediate group and individuals is now transforming and fragmenting itself into pieces.

The word 'runaway' is perhaps the key term. One of Beck's articles is

entitled “Living your own life in a runaway world” (2003). He very vividly describes our contemporary daily life. Despite the super-fragmented daily life in nowadays Japan, which is the condition of living your own life in a runaway world, we still have opportunities to let the networking of ‘sub-politics’ via ‘transnational social spaces’ (Beck 2008, 25) emerge in our contemporary society. The sociological theory building under glocalisation has to be transformed into the set of terms that can open the perspectives for the articulation of individuals with institutions even through the process of individualisation (Beck).

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Da 'monello' a 'ragazzo per bene'
La trasformazione del protagonista in *Le avventure di Pinocchio* nella loro prima traduzione giapponese

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Abstract This paper compares the first translation of *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, realised during the Taishō epoch by Satō Haruo (1892-1964), to Carlo Collodi's (1826-1890) nineteenth-century novel. It marks out the most relevant differences between these two cultural contexts by means of an analysis of the 'rascal' image. According to the Italian author, the common sense is the unavoidable condition thanks to which the boy can avoid going to the bad and reach the superior condition of a 'well-bred boy'. At the same time, the main character's pranks never coincide with the embodiment of the Evil represented by the 'sin': the rascal's existence is incomplete and, therefore, immature from every point of view. The Japanese translation does not develop the Christian cultural element and, thus, does not fully express the character of Collodi's rascal. The image of the rascal given by the first Japanese translation is not the only thing that differs from the original Pinocchio: as a matter of fact, Satō's translation weakens also the theme of the main character-marionette's transformation and the final attainment of a body.

Keywords Rascal. Le avventure di Pinocchio. Japanese translation. Marionette.

1 Introduzione

Questo saggio si propone di illustrare le differenze culturali sottostanti all'immagine del 'monello' quale essa traspare, rispettivamente, dall'ottocentesca opera collodiana *Le avventure di Pinocchio* e dalla sua prima traduzione giapponese di Epoca Taishō (1912-1926). Nel suddetto racconto, il 'burattino monello' protagonista si trasforma in 'ragazzo per bene'. Tuttavia la figura del 'monello' descritta da Collodi si differenzia dai personaggi infantili presenti fino a quel momento nella letteratura infantile; presenta

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infatti un modello di bambino più vicino alla realtà. Per questo la figura di Pinocchio rappresenta una svolta significativa in questo ambito della letteratura. Pur limitando scientemente il proprio campo di ricerca a *Le avventure di Pinocchio* come prodotto letterario per l'infanzia rappresentativo del periodo esaminato e selezionando pertanto alcuni aspetti delle differenze in termini di percezione del 'monello' riscontrate fra Italia e Giappone, è convinzione dell'autore che tali annotazioni possano estendersi in futuro a riflessioni di carattere più ampio sulla concezione dell'infanzia nei due Paesi, passando attraverso il tipo di analisi qui esposto. In quanto ad importanti ricerche precedenti è possibile menzionare *Pinocchio oder Vom Roman der Kindheit. Frankfurt* del 1996, a cura di Dieter Richter,[1] dove si fa riferimento alla figura pinocchio 'monello' e di 'bambino ribelle' presente nella storia della letteratura infantile; tuttavia non si considera concretamente nessuna delle immagini di monello presente in *Pinocchio*.

Di conseguenza, nella presente tesi, si tenterà di mettere in evidenza le differenti caratteristiche del 'monello' nel contesto italiano e in quello giapponese. Si tratta di differenze relative a concetti religiosi[2] e di differenze ascrivibili alla figura infantile, che richiede una componente di razionalità nel caso italiano, contrariamente a quello giapponese che, come si evince dalla rivista *Akai-tori*, non necessita di tale presupposto. Procedendo in questo modo si potrà forse fare luce su un aspetto dell'immagine del monello che si riscontra in *Pinocchio*.

L'autore ringrazia sentitamente le Università di Kōbe e Venezia per aver offerto l'opportunità di condurre a termine una ricerca sul campo in Italia fra maggio 2014 e aprile 2015 tramite lo *Strategic Young Researcher Overseas Visits Program for Accelerating Brain Circulation*.

1.1 Il tipo del 'monello' nella letteratura per l'infanzia di epoca risorgimentale

L'Ottocento è, nella definizione di Philippe Ariès, il secolo dell'infanzia (cf. Ariès 1975). Il 'fanciullo' viene per la prima volta percepito come un'esistenza nettamente separata da quella dell'adulto e, contestualmente a un generalizzato incremento dell'interesse verso l'età dello sviluppo, aumenta anche la domanda di letteratura per l'infanzia. L'Italia in questo senso non fa eccezione, per quanto caratterizzata all'epoca da una più marcata tendenza alla produzione di opere espressamente pedagogiche. Scrive al proposito Giovanni Bitelli:

1 Per una traduzione italiana vedi Fliri Piccioni 2002.

2 Per un'analisi del racconto *Pinocchio* attraverso la religione cristiana si veda Bagellini 1942, che non è preso in esame in questa ricerca.

> Padre Francesco Soave (1743-1806) preparò un volume di *Novelle* dove erano esaltate, attraverso la cinematografia episodica, le più nobili virtù. Altrettanto fece Giuseppe Taverna (1764-1850). Ma anche le sue *Novelle morali*, *i Racconti storici*, e le *Prime letture per i fanciulli* apparvero, come i saggi precedenti del Soave, troppo sermonanti. Se ne facero tuttavia edizioni su edizioni. Ma la critica d'allora e d'adesso è concorde nell'affermare che piacquero più agli educatori pedanti che ai ragazzi. (Bitelli 1947, 115)

Analogamente, durante il Risorgimento si assiste al proliferare di letture tendenti all'insegnamento morale, delle quali è difficile asserire con chiarezza l'appartenenza stessa al campo della letteratura. Come fa presente Richter «La letteratura italiana per l'infanzia ha origine nelle città italiane del XVIII secolo, in un contesto animato dallo spirito illuminista» (2002, 28). Si tratta di un'affermazione importante dal momento che si può dire che questo stesso spirito illuminista influenzerà la letteratura infantile italiana successiva. In epoca successiva al Soave e al Taverna, la Società fiorentina dell'istruzione elementare bandisce nel 1833 un concorso di scritti pedagogico-morali destinati a un pubblico di età compresa fra i 6 e i 12 anni, che nella sua prima edizione non vede vincitori. Nell'edizione del 1836 viene invece premiato il *Giannetto* di Luigi Alessandro Parravicini (1799-1880), un maestro comasco la cui opera sarà in seguito a lungo utilizzata come testo per le scuole elementari.

Se il Giannetto protagonista dell'omonima opera ci appare però come tipica figura di 'bravo ragazzo' e, successivamente, di 'buon cittadino', la nuova edizione pubblicata dall'editore Paggi nel 1877,[3] che reca il titolo di *Giannettino* ed è stavolta curata da Carlo Collodi, pur mantenendo l'impostazione enciclopedica e i contenuti pedagogici inerenti a diritti, doveri e lavoro (Bitelli 1947, 116), presenta un personaggio ribelle agli insegnamenti del maestro Boccadoro e già tendente al carattere del 'monello'. Tale caratteristica si ritrova naturalmente accentuata ne *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, pubblicate a puntate sul *Giornale per i bambini* dal 1881, il cui soggetto è nello specifico la trasformazione del 'monello' in un 'ragazzo per bene'. Una distinzione si rende dunque doverosa in merito alle opere

3 Nel 1877 – l'anno di pubblicazione del libro per la scuola Giannettino di Collodi – fu promulgata la 'lex Coppino', la legge dell'obbligo scolastico per tutti, che stabiliva l'istruzione elementare gratuita triennale, dai sei ai nove anni d'età. L'onda dell'alfabetizzazione – alla proclamazione del Regno d'Italia la quota degli analfabeti era ancora del 78% – procurava ora alla letteratura infantile, attraverso le scuole, centinaia di migliaia di nuovi lettori all'anno: in altri termini, il bisogno di letture per bambini aumentava (Richter 2002, 29).

presentanti il tipo del 'monello' in qualità di protagonista.[4] Secondo quanto affermato da Lindsay Myers:

> [B]y the early 1900s the 'Monello' Fantasy had become the dominant sub-genre in Italian children's fantasy literature. A large proportion of the fantasies that can be categorised as 'Monello' Fantasies can also be described as 'Pinocchiate' [Pinocchio-hybrids].5 It is important to stress, however that the 'Pinocchiata' is not synonymous with the 'Monello Fantasy'. Many 'Pinocchiate' are not fantasies and many 'Monello' fantasies, have no overt connection to Collodi's text. 'Pinocchiate' have continued to appear sporadiacally throughout the twentieth century but the 'Monello' Fantasy has largely remained a late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century phenomenon. (Myers 2011, 46-7)

Al contempo, si ammette come il genere del 'Monello Fantasy', sebbene distinto dalla 'Pinocchiata', debba molto all'opera collodiana nella sua struttura fondamentale:

> [T]he 'Monello' Fantasy, as previously mentioned, was primarily an extension of Collodi's *Pinocchio*. The basic structure of sub-genre consciously imitates that devised by Collodi, and the 'monello' protagonists all owe their existence to Collodi's rebellious puppet. (Myers 2011, 49)

Mentre quindi i 'monelli' continuano a fare la loro apparizione da protagonisti in racconti di fantasia per tutta la seconda metà del diciannovesimo secolo, numerosi sono i personaggi afferenti a tale tipologia che compaiono, in forma diversa dal successivo 'Monello Fantasy' sulle pagine del *Giornale per i bambini*. Va tuttavia qui rimarcato come il termine 'monello' fosse ovviamente in uso da un'epoca ben anteriore a quella esaminata nel presente saggio, il che ne rende il significato strettamente dipendente dalla concenzione dell'infanzia di volta in volta prevalente. In una delle lettere pubblicate nella sezione dedicata alla corrispondenza con i lettori del *Giornale per i bambini* leggiamo per esempio:

> Il babbo a volte mi dice: birichino sì, monello no! Ma io ho una gran

4 «al suo [di Pinocchio] muoversi spensierato e allegro, per tante qualità di ragazzo-monello, esemplare e campione ultimo di tutta una categoria di ragazzi niente affatto 'perbenino'», ma golosi, bugiardi, infingardi e svogliati, anche se schietti nel fondo, vivaci di immaginazione, capaci a volte di gesti e di azioni generose e rimorsi» (Bertacchini cit. in Marini 2000, 162)

5 «'Pinocchiate' always make explicit reference to Collodi's classic either by continuing his adventures or by inventing those of his friends and relations» (Myers 2011, 47 nota 17).

> paura che la signorina Sofia e i bambini che leggono il Giornale mi credano più monello che birichino, e mi rincresce tanto. (Martini [1881] 1990, 1, 12, 189-19)

Come riconosciuto da Collodi stesso la ricezione del termine è dunque largamente questione storica:

> Una volta si chiamava birichino o sbarazzino.
>
> Oggi questi due nomi si sono ringentiliti. Oggi si trovano dei birichini, che hanno la giacchettina quasi nuova e le mani quasi pulite: oggi s'incontrano degli sbarazzini, che possono perdere il fazzoletto di tasca, ma rispettano il fazzoletto nelle tasche degli altri. (Mareschi 1995, 179; sottolineature dell'Autrice, qui e di seguito)

A mutare attraverso il tempo è la figura stessa del 'monello', che risente del processo di scolarizzazione avviato nell'Italia post-unitaria. I 'monelli' descritti in *Ricordi di scuola* (D'Angelo [1881] 1990, 1, 4, 62-3) appaiono sullo sfondo della scolarizzazione avanzante: le loro 'monellerie' consistono per lo più nella disobbedienza all'autorità del maestro e assumono spesso carattere collettivo (si pensi, ad esempio, ai 'compagnacci' che portano il protagonista sulla cattiva strada ne *Le avventure di Pinocchio*). In altri termini, l'esistenza del 'monello' che infrange regole e convenzioni dipende essenzialmente dalla presenza di un'autorità costituita: in epoca successiva ciò porterà ad attribuirvi un carattere di critica sociale, che non si ravvisa ancora tuttavia nel *Giornale per i bambini*.

A proposito del 'monello', Myers afferma che «the protagonists of the 'Monello' Fantasy are always spirited characters with an innate sense of devilment» (Myers 2011, 48), i quali «rather than endorse the dominant social order […] subtly overturn established, hierarchical structures, exposing the weakness of the contemporary Italian state and wilfully undermining its authority» (Myers 2011, 64). Nulla si dice invece sul 'monello' incarnato da Pinocchio, né sulla concezione dell'infanzia ad esso sottesa: mentre l'attenzione si focalizza sull'influenza esercitata dalla Commedia dell'Arte quale elemento tipicamente italiano nella formazione del tipo del 'monello', l'opera collodiana e il suo personaggio non sono esaminati in particolare dettaglio.

Nel seguito si darà pertanto conto della figura del 'monello' in Collodi, ricercandone nello specifico le differenze culturali rispetto al *background* prevalente in Giappone all'epoca della prima traduzione dell'opera.

1.2 Carlo Collodi e il *Giornale per i bambini*

Carlo Collodi (1826-1890), pseudonimo di Carlo Lorenzini, compare inizialmente sulle scene letterarie come romanziere, giornalista e drammaturgo, nonché critico teatrale e musicale. Il suo impegno nella traduzione e scrittura di opere per l'infanzia e nella redazione di libri di testo risale all'incirca al 1875, vale a dire, a una fase già avanzata della sua carriera: *Le avventure di Pinocchio*, che costituiscono il principale oggetto del presente studio, iniziano a essere pubblicate a puntate quando Collodi ha già raggiunto l'età di 55 anni.

Nato a Firenze da famiglia modesta (il padre era cuoco alle dipendenze dei Ginori Garzoni Venturi, la madre domestica), malgrado le ristrettezze economiche riesce a ricevere un'istruzione dapprima presso il Seminario di Colle di Val d'Elsa (1837-1842), quindi dai Padri Scolopi di San Giovannino (1842-1844). Inizia quindi il lavoro presso la libreria Piatti di Firenze, ma prende anche parte come soldato alla Seconda Guerra d'Indipendenza. La sua conoscenza del francese gli frutta in seguito la nomina a membro della commissione istituita dal ministro Emilio Broglio nel 1868 per la redazione del *Nuovo vocabolario della lingua italiana secondo l'uso di Firenze* (pubblicato in quattro volumi fra il 1870 e il 1897), con il compito di rilevare i francesismi entrati nell'uso corrente e proporne gli appropriati corrispondenti toscani (Traversetti 1993, 79-80).

Gli editori Felice e Alessandro Paggi affidano quindi a Collodi la traduzione dal Francese dei *Contes de ma mère l'Oye* di Charles Perrault (1628-1703) e di altre fiabe del diciassettesimo e diciottesimo secolo, la cui versione italiana vede la luce nel 1875 con il titolo de *I racconti delle fate*. Aumenta da allora l'interesse di Collodi verso l'ambito educativo, che sfocia nella pubblicazione del *Giannettino* nel 1877 e nell'esordio del *Giornale per i bambini*, settimanale curato dal gruppo editoriale del *Fanfulla*, che viene dato inizialmente alle stampe il 7 luglio 1881. La redazione del periodico, dopo una fase che ne vede l'affidamento a Ferdinando Martini fra il 1881 e il 1882, passa quindi a Collodi: luogo di edizione è Roma, ma i lettori – per lo più bambini borghesi di età compresa fra i 5 e i 10 anni – di cui si ha notizia attraverso la rubrica de *La posta dei bambini* presentano le provenienze geografiche più disparate.

È sul *Giornale per i bambini* che *Le avventure di Pinocchio* vengono pubblicate a puntate fra il 7 luglio 1881 e il 25 gennaio 1883: la storia, che si concludeva inizialmente con l'impiccagione di Pinocchio ad opera degli Assassini nel Capitolo 15, viene ripresa su richiesta dei lettori[6] e portata

6 «Una buona notizia! Vi ricorderete del povero burattino che il signor Collodi lasciò attaccato a quell'albero e che pareva morto? Ebbene, ora lo stesso signor Collodi ci scrive per annunziarci che Pinocchio non è morto, anzi è più vivo che mai, e che gli sono accadute delle cose che pare impossibile. E ve le racconterà presto presto tutte d'un fiato nelle Av-

a termine nella struttura attuale di trentasei capitoli, quindi pubblicata dalla casa editrice Paggi nel 1883.

Numerose figure di 'monelli', oltre a Pinocchio, compaiono sulle pagine del *Giornale per i bambini*, ma nel loro caso il contrappasso per le malefatte compiute – ribellione all'autorità dei maestri, bugie e via dicendo – è rappresentato dall'aspetto psicologico del senso di colpa. Le traversie di Pinocchio, che si ritrova di volta in volta con i piedi bruciati, impiccato o a rischio di venire mangiato, per citare solo alcuni esempi tratti dall'opera, si riferiscono invece a una dimensione fisica della punizione, resa possibile in virtù del carattere 'non umano' del protagonista-marionetta.

1.3 Satō Haruo e *Akai Tori*

Quella di Satō Haruo (1892-1964) è una figura poliedrica di poeta, romanziere, saggista, drammaturgo e traduttore di opere letterarie dal cinese e dalle lingue europee. Satō si dedica altresì alla letteratura per l'infanzia, traducendo fiabe come *Kaeru no joō* (La principessa rana) e *Ōguma, chūguma, koguma* (Riccioli d'oro e i tre orsi),[7] con cui contribuisce al periodico *Akai Tori* all'epoca delle prime pubblicazioni, e scrivendone altre orginiali, come *Inago no dairyokō* (Il viaggio della cavalletta), pubblicato sulla rivista di narrativa per l'infanzia *Dōwa*.[8] La traduzione de *Le avventure di Pinocchio* curata dall'Autore compare per la prima volta sul periodico per ragazzi *Akai Tori* fra febbraio 1920 (4[2]) e settembre dello stesso anno (5[3]) con il titolo di *Itazura ningyō no bōken – Chōhen dōwa* (Le avventure di una marionetta dispettosa – Romanzo per ragazzi), ma rimane infine incompiuta e più prossima a un adattamento che non a una traduzione dell'originale.[9] La traduzione definitiva, pubblicata dall'editore Kaizōsha nel 1925 come *Dōwa Pinochio – Ayatsuri ningyō no bōken* (La Storia di Pinocchio: avventure di una marionetta) si presenta invece

venture di Pinocchio, di cui cominciamo la pubblicazione nel prossimo numero» (*Giornale per i bambini,* 1 Dicembre 1881).

7 *Akai Tori,* periodico diretto da Suzuki Miekichi e pubblicato dal 1918 al 1936.

8 *Dōwa* (La fiaba), rivista diretta da Chiba Shozō e pubblicata dal 1920 al 1926.

9 «Studi recenti indicano la pratica dell'adattamento (hon' an) come un vero e proprio genere letterario a sé stante, in grado di esprimere la creatività dell'autore e di veicolare specifiche interpretazioni dell'originale adattato: molti furono, in effetti, gli adattamenti ad opera di intellettuali e scrittori che, in altre sedi, avevano ben dimostrato di aver recepito il senso di una traduzione integrale fedele al testo. Tutto ciò sembrerebbe restituire anche agli adattamenti – che, nel caso della letteratura per l'infanzia in generale, ma anche per quanto riguarda *Pinocchio*, in Giappone rappresentano la produzione più ricca – una specifica dignità» (Vienna 2008, 129).

nel complesso come più fedele alla fonte rispetto alla versione di *Akai Tori*, cui viene aggiunta la resa giapponese di svariati dialoghi e passaggi inizialmente omessi. La traduzione di Satō Haruo dunque, sebbene non certo precisa in ogni suo aspetto, né fedele al retroterra culturale della sua fonte – come del resto non era requisito essenziale per alcuna traduzione all'epoca – presenta per la stessa ragione il pregio di riflettere in maniera evidente la concezione dell'infanzia allora prevalente nel Paese e le inerenti differenze culturali rispetto all'Italia di Collodi, separata sia nel tempo che nello spazio dal Giappone di Epoca Taishō. È per tale ragione che il presente studio si concentrerà sulla resa di Satō come principale termine di paragone rispetto all'opera collodiana.

Entrambe le traduzioni di Satō recano nel titolo il termine *dōwa*, in contrasto con l'uso invalso in Epoca Meiji (1868-1912) a partire da Iwaya Sazanami di riferirsi alla letteratura per l'infanzia come a *otogibanashi*. Il vocabolo '*dōwa*' ('storia per l'infanzia') iniziò invece ad affermarsi nell'uso intorno alla metà dell'Epoca Taishō, fino a diventare '*jidō bungaku*' ('letteratura per l'infanzia') in Epoca Shōwa (1926-1989), accompagnandosi, secondo quanto sostenuto da Kawahara Kazue, all'attribuzione di nuovi significati al termine stesso (Kawahara 1998, 15). Nella transizione da *otogibanashi* a *dōwa* si riflette peraltro un gusto romantico di ammirazione per l'infanzia, ben riassunto dal motto di *Akai Tori*, 'Proteggere e sviluppare la purezza del bambino'.[10] Al tempo stesso, tuttavia,

> [p]iù che al concetto di 'innocenza' ('*muku*') si preferì all'epoca riferirsi a quello di 'ingenuità infantile' ('*dōshin*'). Laddove infatti il termine 'innocenza' poteva apparire come una forzatura esterna, legata a un retroterra cristiano estraneo alla tradizione giapponese, quello di 'ingenuità' consentiva invece di mantenere l'immagine romantica della 'purezza', conservando al tempo stesso un senso di familiarità assente nell'alternativa lessicale. (Kawahara 1998, 149)

Lo stesso periodico *Akai Tori* su cui apparve la prima traduzione di Satō fu fondato nel luglio 1920 da Suzuki Miekichi con l'intenzione di proiettare nel mondo dell'espressione artistico-letteraria una dimensione spirituale associata alla bellezza derivante dalla 'purezza'/'ingenuità' proprie solo dell'età infantile e fondamentalmente differente da quella dell'adulto (Nogami 2008, 144). La 'debolezza' è in tal senso una delle caratteristiche più spesso associate alle figure di bambino che compaiono su *Akai Tori*,[11]

10 *Akai Tori*, 1(3), *Akai Tori no motto* (Il motto di Akai Tori).

11 Secondo quanto riportato in Kawahara Kazue (Kawahara 1998, 118), 73 storie delle 238 pubblicate su *Akai Tori* hanno per tema la debolezza del protagonista e il dramma ad essa associato.

traducendosi però in una forma di 'passività', che nulla ha a che vedere con la debolezza intesa come cedimento alla tentazione propria del protagonista collodiano. Per contro, i 'bravi ragazzi' protagonisti di molti dei racconti pubblicati sul medesimo periodico sono, secondo le parole di Kawahara, «meno legati al tradizionale modello confuciano e più prossimi alla nuova morale richiesta dal modello di società civile di derivazione europea» (1998, 100), in modo simile a come potrebbe esserlo il *Giannetto* di Parravicini.

2 L'immagine del 'monello' in *Le avventure di Pinocchio*

2.1 Il 'buon cuore'

Il 'monello' collodiano, per quanto associato all'immagine di 'ragazzo cattivo', non figura mai come un'esistenza totalmente negativa.[12] Piuttosto, esso racchiude le potenzialità necessarie a diventare un 'ragazzo per bene', il cui fondamento risiede nel fatto di possedere 'buon cuore'. Tale 'buon cuore' è di fatto un elemento comune ai 'monelli' che compaiono tanto ne *Le avventure di Pinocchio* quanto nel *Giornale per i bambini*. Si considerino, a titolo di esempio, le parole rivolte a Pinocchio dalla Fata – svolgente idealmente il ruolo materno all'interno dell'opera:

> La sincerità del tuo dolore mi fece conoscere che tu avevi il cuore buono; e dai ragazzi buoni di cuore, anche se sono un po' monelli e avvezzati male, c'è sempre da sperar qualcosa: ossia, c'è sempre da sperare che rientrino sulla vera strada. (Tempesti 1983, 153)

Possedere 'buon cuore' è dunque condizione per superare la condizione di 'monello' e ritornare così sulla 'vera strada', che assume qui un significato sociale oltreché religioso. In maniera analoga, dei 'monelli' del *Giornale per i bambini*, si dice di Carluccio («Ritorno all'ovile») che «non aveva cattivo cuore e voleva bene alle sorelline» (Beri Pigorini [1881, ottobre] 1990, 1, 14, 213), dell'orfano di padre Cecchino («L'orso bianco») che «voleva bene alla mamma» (Forese [1881, gennaio] 1990, 2, 3, 35) e di Clementina («Una bugia scoperta») che «voleva un gran bene al babbo e alla mamma» (Rigutini [1881, settembre] 1990, 1, 9, 134). In altri termini, tutti i perso-

12 In quanto a Pinocchio, «I sentimenti che egli ostenta nella sua fase lignea sono presi a prestito dalla tradizione corrente, così come i suoi condizionamenti si esplicano nell'ambito dei rapporti che egli instaura occasionalmente con le figure simboliche, paradigmatiche, del bene e del male, sia pure di un bene e di un male non introiettati. Il burattino, infatti, è sempre in balia dei suoi interlocutori, senza interconnettersi con essi al fine di far valere il suo criterio di giudizio» (Campa 1999, 13).

naggi, pur condividendo la tensione verso il 'bene' e la possibilità *in nuce* di realizzarlo, in mancanza di un altro fattore si ritrovano inesorabilmente nella condizione di 'monelli'. Quale sia la sostanza di tale fattore sarà oggetto dei seguenti paragrafi.

2.2 'Senza giudizio'

La definizione di Richter di «bambino desideroso di apprendere» (Richter 2002, 29) fa riferimento ad uno degli antichi modelli infantili del discorso pedagogico presenti nella letteratura per l'infanzia di stampo illuminista. Collodi, pur proponendo il concetto di 'bambino ribelle', non si distacca dall'ideale illuminista di 'ragazzo per bene'. Quindi le caratteristiche richieste per definire il ragazzo per bene sono 'ragione' e 'giudizio'. Ciò che caratterizza il monello è dunque l'essere 'senza giudizio', e ciò si riflette nel carattere di Pinocchio.

L'essere 'senza giudizio' è espressione ricorrente nei passaggi dell'opera collodiana in cui Pinocchio ammette di essere un 'ragazzo cattivo'. Il 'giudizio' costituisce quindi fattore necessario a lasciare la condizione di 'monello', come traspare dalla risposta del ragazzo a cui Pinocchio cerca di vendere l'abbecedario nella scena del teatro delle marionette.

> Io sono un ragazzo, e non compro nulla dai ragazzi, – gli rispose il suo piccolo interlocutore, che aveva molto più giudizio di lui. (Tempesti 1983, 33)

Il 'ragazzo' in questione, in virtù del proprio 'giudizio', differisce dal 'monello' Pinocchio, che, sprovvisto di tale qualità, finirà per vendere l'abbecedario a 'un rivenditore di panni usati'. Si può pertanto notare come il 'giudizio' in quest'accezione sia un elemento di tutto rilievo nell'individuazione tipologica del 'monello', rappresentando la capacità di discernimento che consente al ragazzo di scegliere fra la 'buona' e la 'cattiva' strada. Il senso dell'espressione non si ritrova tuttavia nella traduzione giapponese de *Le avventure di Pinocchio* ad opera di Satō. Si consideri ad esempio il passo in cui Pinocchio, istigato dal Gatto e dalla Volpe, decide di seguire i due modelli negativi:

> Pinocchio esitò un poco a rispondere, perché gli tornò in mente la buona Fata, il vecchio Geppetto e gli avvertimenti del Grillo parlante; ma poi finì col fare come fanno tutti i ragazzi senza un fil di giudizio e senza cuore, finì, cioè, col dare una scrollatina di capo, e disse alla Volpe e al Gatto: – Andiamo pure: io vengo con voi. (Mareschi 1995, 106)

In questo caso è la mancanza di discernimento a porre il protagonista

sulla cattiva strada. Ciononostante, la traduzione di Satō si limita a rendere il concetto con quello di 'stupidità' (in Giapponese, '*baka*'), riferendosi dunque piuttosto a un metro di giudizio intellettivo.[13] Si confronti anche la risposta di Pinocchio alla Marmottina dopo la trasformazione in somaro:

> – Perché?... Perché, Marmottina mia, io sono un burattino senza giudizio... e senza cuore. (Tempesti 1983, 203)

Nuovamente, la traduzione di Satō reca 'stupido' ('*baka*') in luogo di 'senza giudizio'.[14] È peraltro degna di nota nel testo originale l'ammissione di Pinocchio di essere 'senza cuore': un'osservazione colpevole che il protagonista, si direbbe, riesce a formulare autonomamente proprio in virtù del 'buon cuore' che in fondo lo caratterizza.

Ancora, si può considerare il passo in cui Pinocchio, mantenendo la promessa fatta, inizia ad andare a scuola e arriva perfino ad essere lodato dal maestro per l'impegno dimostrato. All'ammonimento della Fata di non frequentare i 'compagnacci' della classe,

> Non c'è pericolo!- rispondeva il burattino, facendo una spallucciata e toccandosi coll'indice in mezzo alla fronte, come per dire: «C'è tanto giudizio qui dentro!» (Tempesti 1983, 157)

Satō rende qui 'giudizio' con un termine (*chie*) il cui significato è prossimo a quello di 'intelligenza': la basilare capacità di distinguere il Bene dal Male viene nuovamente travisata per una differente qualità di ordine intellettuale. La ragione di ciò va ricercata nella mancanza di un retroterra religioso cristiano che, ponendo Satō nell'impossibilità di fondare su tale tradizione i concetti stessi di 'Bene' e 'Male', gli impedisce di attribuire correttamente al 'giudizio' collodiano il ruolo discriminante che esso ricopre nel consentire al 'monello' – marionetta Pinocchio di elevarsi da tale condizione a quella 'umana' di 'ragazzo per bene'. Per inciso, Sugiura Mimpei, altro traduttore dell'opera collodiana, rende 'senza giudizio' con '*monowakari no warui*' (letteralmente, 'di cattivo intelletto'). (Sugiura [1958] 1979, 235)

13 親切なフェアリイのことを考へ, 年のいつたゼペットのことを考へ, さてまた物言ふこほろぎの忠告を思ひ出して, ピノチオはしばらくの間もぢもぢしてゐた。が, 心無しな馬鹿な子供たちのならひに洩れず, ついうつかりと乗せられてしまった。彼は頭を一振り振ると, 狐と猫とに言った。「さあ来給へな。僕, いつしょに行くよ。」(Satō 1998a, 28, 188).

14 「何故つて?それや僕, 鼠さん, 僕が馬鹿で心なしの操り人形だつたからさ。」(Satō 1998a, 28, 225).

2.3 Monello e peccato

Si è visto come la marionetta Pinocchio possieda un'esistenza incompleta, sprovvista di 'giudizio' e, in quanto tale, 'negativa'. Tale individualità non è però tutt'uno con il concetto di 'peccato': il 'monello' in questo senso non è ancora segnato dalla colpa e si trova pertanto nella condizione di cadere, come all'opposto di ricevere una forma di esistenza superiore. Rappresentativa è l'affermazione di Pinocchio quando, colto sul fatto nel tentativo di rubare «poche ciocche d'uva moscatella», viene posto dal padrone della vigna a «far da can di guardia a un pollaio», che infine difende rifiutando il 'patto' offertogli dalle faine venute a compiere razzia:

> Perché bisogna sapere che io sono un burattino, che avrò tutti i difetti di questo mondo: ma non avrò mai quello di star di balla e di reggere il sacco alla gente disonesta. (Tempesti 1983, 130)[15]

«Star di balla e reggere il sacco alla gente disonesta» avrebbe significato in questo caso rendersi complice del furto progettato dalle faine. A scapito dei numerosi 'difetti' che ancora si frappongono fra la sua condizione e quella di un 'ragazzo per bene', Pinocchio sfugge a quelle azioni che implicherebbero flagrantemente il peccato, la deviazione decisiva verso la 'cattiva strada'. Così il protagonista è costretto ad essere sempre sincero – in quanto la menzogna verrebbe subito scoperta dal cambiamento fisico subito – e viene più volte soccorso dalla Fata prima di cadere nel peccato dell'ozio.[16] Al contrario, il 'monello' Lucignolo muore nella condizione di somaro, senza essere riuscito a ritornare sulla 'vera strada', così come il Gatto e la Volpe, fin dall'esordio figure totalmente negative di truffatori, si riducono infine in condizione misera. Divenuti realmente cieco e storpia, i due non ricevono alcun genere di soccorso, nemmeno da Pinocchio cui si rivolgono supplicando aiuto. È interessante qui notare come i 'compagnacci' della scuola che Pinocchio frequenta siano nell'originale «sette come i peccati mortali» (Tempesti 1983, 161). L'espressione viene totalmente omessa nella traduzione di Satō, che si limita a specificare il numero dei 'monelli', senza attribuirvi alcun significato ulteriore.

15 Si veda anche la traduzione giapponese: 「それやもう僕なんかたかが操人形で, おまけに間違ひだらけの操人形です。だつてまさか僕は泥棒の相棒まではしないんですよ。」(Satō 1998a, 195).

16 Si veda il capitolo sul «Paese delle Api industriose», in cui Pinocchio, prossimo a morire di fame, viene spronato al lavoro dalla Fata, o ancora il soccorso ricevuto dopo la trasformazione in somaro (animale simbolo dell'ozio) nel Paese dei balocchi.

3 Trasformazione del protagonista

3.1 Un ‘ragazzo per bene’

Nell’ultimo capitolo la Fata, apparsa in sogno a Pinocchio, rivolge al protagonista le seguenti parole:

> i ragazzi che assistono amorosamente i propri genitori nelle loro miserie e nelle loro infermità, meritano sempre gran lode e grande affetto, anche se non possono esser citati come modelli d’ubbidienza e di buona condotta. Metti giudizio per l’avvenire, e sarai felice. (Tempesti 1983, 252)

Il finale del passo citato è reso da Satō come: ‘Sarai senz’altro ricompensato e benvoluto’, senza alcun riferimento al «mettere giudizio per l’avvenire». L’avvertimento nel brano originale è indirizzato al non cessare gli sforzi per mantenere la capacità di ‘giudizio’ anche una volta diventato un ‘ragazzo per bene’, pena la perdita immediata della condizione faticosamente raggiunta. Si veda a proposito quanto scrive il Tempesti al riguardo nel suo commento all’opera collodiana:

> «Metti giudizio per l’avvenire, e sarai felice» La chiusa di questa esortazione è un po’ a formula; ma un po’ risente anche di una pedagogia pessimistica (ancora quella vieusseuiana) che preferiva non dar tregua nell’ incitazione all’impegno, al superlavoro. (Tempesti 1983, 252 nota 35)

Al risveglio del sogno l’immagine che lo specchio restituisce a Pinocchio è quella «vispa e intelligente di un bel fanciullo coi capelli castagni», totalmente diversa del precedente corpo di marionetta.

3.2 Da marionetta a essere umano

La trasformazione del protagonista si caratterizza come superamento della condizione di ‘monello’ e raggiungimento di un’esistenza pienamente autonoma grazie al ‘giudizio’ accumulato. Tornato così sulla ‘vera strada’, Pinocchio viene riconosciuto dalla Fata come ‘esistenza positiva’ e riceve in premio un corpo umano. È rilevante che tale non sia un processo graduale, ma consista nella repentina attribuzione del corpo: fino a quel momento, infatti, la marionetta Pinocchio non aveva mai abbandonato tale fondamentale condizione, nemmeno in occasione della trasformazione in

somaro,[17] cioè, il corpo di burattino e di asino è da veicolo, tuttavia alla fine Pinocchio da legno si trasfigura essenzialmente in uomo. E Mino Gabriele dice che la trasformazione di Pinocchio da pezzo di legno in asino significa che la «marionetta» da 'strumento-veicolo' diventa il fine (Mino 1981, 45). E a proposito, analizzando l'unione dello specchio nella trama, scrive:

> Lo specchio viene usato da Pinocchio due volte, quando si sente trasformato in ciuco e quando in ragazzo [...] Dal punto di vista di semplice lettura del racconto, esso è indispensabile a Pinocchio per acquisire una immediata conoscenza visiva della sua metamorfosi: [...] in quest'analisi si arriva al vero significato dello specchio che è quello oracolare: come è necessaria nel simulacro la presenza del dio affinché l'oracolo abbia esito, così, affinché lo specchio rifletta l'immagine, è necessario colui che la vede, il quale non è altro che il burattinaio dentro il burattino. (Mino 1981, 45-6)

Al contrario, il Pinocchio di Satō, una volta deciso di diventare un 'ragazzo per bene' seguendo gli ammonimenti della Fata, si esprime dicendo di 'voler diventare un poco alla volta umano'.[18] In altre parole, Satō sembra qui riferirsi a un cambiamento per gradi, contrastante con l'immagine finale dell'opera in cui il Pinocchio-marionetta e il Pinocchio-ragazzo fanno entrambi contemporaneamente la propria comparsa sulla scena, ormai definitivamente separati l'uno dall'altro.[19]

4 Conclusioni

Se la peculiarità di Pinocchio, analizzata nei precedenti paragrafi, è quella di essere un 'monello', i suoi fondamenti vanno ricercati nel retroterra cristiano dell'Autore. In tal senso, il 'giudizio' è condizione imprescindibile perché il 'monello' possa evitare di cadere sulla cattiva strada e raggiungere invece la condizione superiore di 'ragazzo per bene'. Al tempo stesso, le 'monellerie' del protagonista non arrivano mai a coincidere con l'incarnazione piena del Male rappresentata dal 'peccato': quella del 'monello' è in fondo un' esistenza incompleta, dunque immatura sotto ogni punto di vista. La traduzione giapponese di Epoca Taishō ad opera di Satō Haruo,

17 Nel passo in questione, Pinocchio viene gettato in mare e i pesci ne mangiano la pelle di somaro, ma lasciano intatto il corpo di legno, la cui essenza non è frattanto cambiata. (Tempesti 1983, 221)

18 だから僕, おひおひと人間になってゆきたいんです。(Satō 1998a, 204).

19 Francesco García Bazán indica che la tradizione platonica esercita un'influenza su Pinocchio (Bazán 1981).

non riflettendo l'elemento culturale cristiano, non riesce d'altro canto a dar pienamente espressione al carattere del 'monello' collodiano. Non è tuttavia solo l'immagine del 'monello' a differire fra il Pinocchio originale e la sua prima versione giapponese: la traduzione di Satō affievolisce infatti anche il tema della trasformazione del protagonista-marionetta e della finale ricezione del corpo. L'attribuzione a Pinocchio di un corpo umano – un fatto che nell'originale avviene in modo subitaneo e necessita pertanto dell' approvazione della Fata – riflette una peculiare *Weltanschauung*, radicata a propria volta nella tradizione italiana.

L'immagine del 'monello' come essa emerge dall'opera originale risulta così condizionata da una serie di fattori non totalmente traducibili nel contesto giapponese vissuto da Satō. Un'analisi del modo in cui tali fattori abbiano trovato all'epoca espressione nella realtà sociale dei due Paesi appare pertanto promettente di sviluppi in studi futuri che si propongano di coglierne le peculiarità in materia di approccio educativo.

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Visual Images of Japanese Culture in Geography Textbooks in Italy (1912-2014)

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Abstract This paper aims to demonstrate an aspect of images of Japanese culture in contemporary Italy and to this purpose examines what kinds of visual image of Japan have been drawn in Italian geography textbooks. In this paper, we focus on geography textbooks mainly for upper secondary education published in Italy (1912-2014), in order that we examine how visual images of Japan and Japanese cultures have historically changed and have been reproduced in these textbooks. Finally, we confirm the point of view of 'coexistence/contradiction between tradition and modern' in Japanese culture, as pointed out in recent Japanese studies, has also appeared and has also been reproduced in these textbooks.

Keywords Geography textbooks. Visual images. Italy. Japan.

1 Introduction

The objective of this paper is to examine how Japan and the Japanese culture have been visually portrayed in contemporary Italian geography textbooks.

These days, Japan's image in Italy seems to be influenced by mass media and popular culture, including Japanese animation. Education also seems to play a role in constructing the public image of Japan, especially in the subject of geography. As one of the most effective fields that teach different cultures, geography contributes to the construction of our image of various nations.

This paper is concerned with geography textbooks intended mainly for upper secondary education and published in Italy from 1912 to 2014. In particular, the focus is on visual images used in articles about Japan and

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Japanese culture that can be found in Italian geography textbooks. It aims to examine what kind of visual image of Japan and Japanese culture have been used, developed and reproduced.

Since the opening of Japan to Western trade, the relationship between Italy and Japan has gone through changes in the past one and a half century. The connection between the two countries went through two World Wars, the postwar boom period of the Japanese economy, and so on. With the progression of this relationship, the Italian perception of Japan has certainly changed over the passage of time.

2 Geography Textbooks of Upper Secondary Education in Italy and the 'Visual Turn' of Cultural Sociology and Geography

2.1 Italian School System and Geography in Upper Secondary Education

After several reforms in the 20th and also 21st centuries, the present Italian school system consists of the following (Dei 2012, Eurydice 2013, UNESCO-IBE 2012):

0. Pre-primary school (*scuola dell'infanzia*, for children aged 3-6);
1. The first cycle of education (lasting 8 years) made of:
   1.1 Primary school (lasting 5 years for pupils aged 6-11) and
   1.2 Lower secondary school (lasting 3 years for pupils aged 11-14);
2. The second cycle of education offering two different pathways as below:
   2.1 Upper secondary school (lasting 5 years for pupils aged 14-19);
   2.2 Vocational training courses (lasting 3 or 4 years).

After the second cycle of education, higher education is offered by universities and high level arts as well as the music education system. Alternatively, post-qualification and post-diploma vocational courses, higher technical education and training courses are also given after the second cycle of education.

Compulsory education basically covers a period of 10 years ranging from the age of 6 to 16. It covers the first cycle of education (primary school and lower secondary school) as well as the first two years of the second cycle of education. The upper secondary school is state-organised and is arranged into six types of lyceum (specialising in arts, classical studies, scientific studies, foreign languages, music and dance, and the humanities), technical institutes (mainly teaching economy and technology) and vocational institutes. Another pathway of the second cycle of education is offered by vocational education and training courses in each region. This structure of the second cycle of education has been established as a result

of recent education reforms. This education stage has featured other types of lyceum, schools, and institutes in the past (Dei 2012, 74-85).

In this school system, geography education starts from primary school (MIUR 2012). However, geography is taught in combination with science and history during these formative years. From lower secondary school, geography is taught as an individual subject. Geography subjects in the lower secondary school already cover world-wide geographical knowledge including that of other countries and continents.

In the upper secondary school, the number of hours to teach geography is, although depending on the type of school, up to ninety-nine hours in each of the first and second year, otherwise the sum of the numbers of hours to teach geography and history is up to ninety-nine hours in each of the first and second year (MIUR 2011). However, the numbers of hours and teachers for geography classes in upper secondary school, especially some types of institutes, tend to be reduced due to education reforms (De Vecchis et al. 2011, 9-12; De Vecchis 2011, 18-20).

Geography textbooks for upper secondary education cover physical and human geographies, dealing with all the pertinent subject matters. These textbooks are divided into three parts: the first part is oriented towards all the regions in Italy; the second part towards European countries; the third part towards extra-European continents and countries. This category has been adapted from old textbooks. For example, a textbook published in 1905-1906 (Pasanisi 1906, IX-XIV), consists of four parts: 1) general geography; 2) Europa; 3) Italy; 4) extra-European continents.

This paper refers to the articles about Japan contained in the fourth part of the text, especially in the chapters of East Asia.

2.2 The ‘Visual Turn’ of Geography and Cultural Sociology

The reason why this paper focuses in particular on visual materials in the articles about Japan in Italian geography textbooks is mainly because of the ‘visual turn’ presented in recent cultural sociology and geography. The visual turn in geography (Rose 2003; Thornes 2004) is closely related to the development of digital technology in recent years. As Thornes (2004, 787) said, the development of the hardware and software for computers that can be used for mapping and map display – for example, GPS, 3-D mapping, as well as the development of the Internet or World Wide Web – has a certain influence on, not only geography research work, but also geography education, teaching, and learning.

However, geography was originally called the ‘visual discipline’ and it was said that “geography is unique in the social sciences in the way it has relied and continues to rely on certain kinds of visualities and visual images to construct its knowledge” (Rose 2003, 212). Therefore, geogra-

phy education and geography textbooks have been using visual materials such as cartographies, drawings and photographs in the same way over the years. The fact that geography draws and relies on visual materials is one of the reasons why geographical knowledge is passed on to learners, via education.

In addition to the visual turn in geography, this paper deals with the conception of 'iconicity' presented in cultural sociology. The visual turn in both geography and cultural sociology has an impact based on the picture theory of Mitchell (1994, 2005) who claimed that such pictures in their own right – not merely as media of languages and meanings of creators – should concentrate on visual studies. Also Mitchell (2002) has introduced the notion of 'landscape as a medium of cultural expression'. Furthermore, some scholars in cultural sociology have developed the conception of iconicity as a hybrid of word and image, surface and depth (Alexander 2008; Bartmanski 2014). According to the explanation of Alexander, 'icons' are 'symbolic condensations' and "they root generic, social meanings in a specific and 'material' form". That is to say, "meaning is made iconically visible as something beautiful, sublime, ugly", and therefore "iconic consciousness occurs when an aesthetically shaped materiality signifies social value. Contact with this aesthetic surface, whether by sight, smell, taste, touch provides a sensual experience that transmits meaning" (Alexander 2008, 782). Bartmanski explains that such icons consist of "significatory structures that have a materially constituted surface and a discursively formed depth" and that there are "the dynamics of the surface/depth relation in icons" (2014, 175-8).

In this paper, the question being asked is what kinds of visual image in Italian geography textbooks have been applied as tools to understand Japanese people and culture, that is, represented as 'icons' that Japanese people hold in their minds.

This paper refers to the previous study about images of Japan in Italian school textbooks of geography done by Ueno (2010). Ueno's research deals with Italian geography textbooks published from the 1920s to the first half of the 1960s. It focuses on the aspects of politics and economics, especially on the changes brought about by the world wars. This paper additionally refers to Ueno's study (2011) on the images of Japan found in Italian school history textbooks published around 1960. Aside from these, the paper also refers to Wright (1979), Hong (2009), and Nan (2015) as studies of images of different cultures in geography textbooks.

3 Visual Images of Japan in Geography Textbooks of Upper Secondary Education in Italy

Before delving into visual images, one should have a look at the general composition of Italian geography textbooks for upper secondary schools. In the last hundred years, it has been seen with little variations and has not exhibited a dramatic change.[1]

In a textbook published in 1906, *Testo di geografia per le scuole secondarie superiori* (Pasanisi 1906), the chapter about Japan features nine sections: (1) the country name, location, and main islands; (2) physical characteristics of the archipelago (including landforms and natural phenomena such as earthquakes); (3) climate; (4) vegetation; (5) population of Japan (including race and religion); (6) short history of Japan (from the era of feudalism to the Russo-Japanese War); (7) occupations and industries; (8) external commerce and maritime communications since 1868; (9) cities in Japan, of which eight major cities in *Honshu* – Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Sasebo –, Hakodate in *Ezo* Island (Hokkaido) and Tainan in Formosa (Taiwan), which was included in Japanese territory at that time.

In a textbook published in 2014, *Conoscere il mondo. Geografia dei paesi extraeuropei* (Sofri, Sofri 2014a), the chapter about Japan consists of two parts: part 1) physical geography and population, Japanese living in cities, the lines of communication, internal politics; part 2) economy, agriculture and fishery, industrials and service sectors, and in addition several columns: 'The Religions', 'Towards a Cautious Rearmament', 'The Secret of Demographic Records', 'Industry and Banks in the World Rankings' and 'Japanese System and the Attachment of Workers to the Company'.

As seen above, the articles about Japan in the Italian geography textbooks that have been mentioned consist of descriptions of physical geography and human geography, the latter mainly about population, cities and economy.

In the third volume of the oldest textbook wherein visual materials were observed, i.e. "Asia in generale ed in particolare" (Corradi 1912), the chapter on East Asia (named 'Imperio del Giappone') featured eight subsections: general notions; boundaries, surface, population; appearance of the country; products, climate; industry, commerce; government; military

1 Each textbook seen below was consulted mainly in the National Institution of Education Document, Innovation and Research (INDIRE, in Florence), libraries of Ca' Foscari University of Venice (in particular its department of economy) and the University of Padua (in particular its department of geography), national libraries such as the National Central Library of Florence and the National University Library of Turin, and other public libraries in Venice and Padua. A part of the later textbooks could be acquired in book stores.

forces; cities. In addition, there are six drawings and pictures (figs. 1-6).[2] It might be noted that three opened and military ports are presented.

Table 1. Classification of Visual Materials

TIME	NUMBER OF BOOKS	TOTAL OF VISUAL MATERIALS	TABLES AND GRAPHS	MAPS	PICTURES AND DRAWINGS	CITIES	NATURE AND CLIMATE	AGRICULTURE FORESTRY AND FISHERIES	INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCIAL	CULTURES
1910-20s	4	12	0	5	7	4	1	0	0	2
1930-40s	4	16	1	7	8	3	2	0	1	2
1950-60s	9	42	1	12	29	3	8	4	2	12
1970-80s	5	75	4	15	56	13	8	9	16	10
1990-2000s	6	163	19	27	117	16	8	9	43	41
2010s	1	26	10	6	10	5	0	1	3	1
Total	29	334	35	72	227	44	27	23	65	68

In the 35 geography textbooks published between 1906 and 2014 which have been referred to in this research, 32 textbooks adopted different kinds of visual materials. Except for three textbooks, including the same contents from another edition of the textbooks (Corradi 1912, 1917; Sofri, Sofri 2009, 2014a, 2014b), 29 textbooks published between 1912 and 2014 placed 227 visual images (pictures and drawings), 35 tables and graphs, and 72 maps. They can be classified as Table 1, according to the age of publication.

3.1 Kind of Maps

The maps used in these textbooks can be divided into physical maps and human maps, the latter including population and industrial maps. These are the maps showing the entire Japanese archipelago as well as certain regions in Japan. In the 29 textbooks mentioned, each featured Japanese maps except for the books from the 1910s, the twenties, and the fifties. The other three textbooks have also Asian maps that show Japan as well as world maps that, of course, include Asia.

A map is one of the most important materials used in geographical knowledge and it is a valuable tool in geographical research. It builds an image of different states and nations. In the textbooks, there are maps of certain areas in Japan, brief maps of Japan, and physical maps of Japanese islands.

2 All the figures are from the second edition of the text book by Corradi, *Testo atlante di geografia* (1912). Its first edition has been published in 1907. However, it cannot be referred to in this research. Moreover, the above drawings and pictures have been adopted from the five editions of this textbook (1917), all the drawings are the same as the ones in the second edition, including descriptions attached with drawings and pictures. It is the second edition which has been referred to in this research.

Fig. 53.
Cantante girovaga giapponese.

1

Fig. 54.
Il Fusijama.
Questo vulcano fin dal 1707 è in riposo. È la montagna sacra dei Buddisti, ed è rappresentato su tutti gli oggetti d'arte giapponesi. Alle basse pendici, coperte di vegetazione, seguono le foreste, poi le macchie umide popolate di scimmie; per 10 mesi dell'anno, la cima ricoperta di neve risplende nel fondo terso del cielo.
CORRADI. — Testo atlante di geografia, III.

2

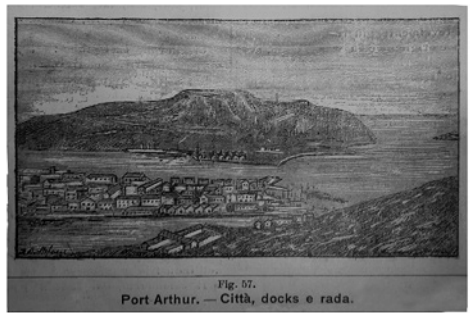

Fig. 57.
Port Arthur. — Città, docks e rada.

3

Fig. 55.
Tokio — L'entrata del Parco Ugeno.

4

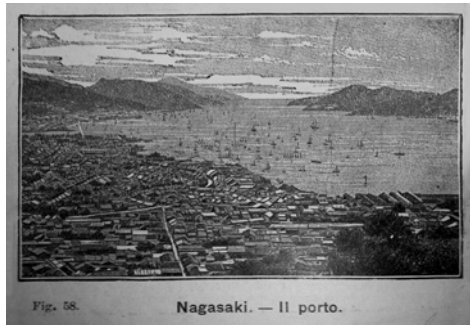

Fig. 58. Nagasaki. — Il porto.

5

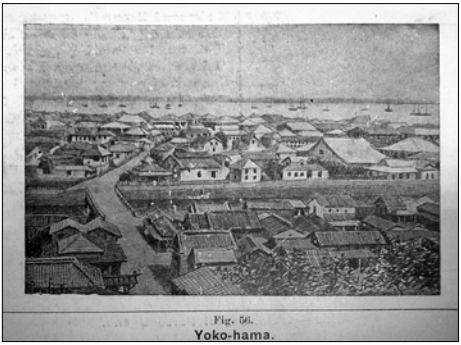

Fig. 56.
Yoko-hama.

6

Figure 1. Japanese wandering singer
Figure 2. The Fujiyama
Figure 3. Port Arthur. City, docs and harbor
Figure 4. Tokyo. The entrance to the Ueno Park
Figure 5. Nagasaki, the port
Figure 6. Yokohama

3.2 Cities

Pictures of cities are familiar scenes in geography textbooks. Forty-four pictures in the textbooks focus on cities (if the pictures that partly feature city backgrounds are also included, the number of photos increases).

The textbooks mostly focused on Tokyo, particularly the areas of Ginza and Shinjuku.[3] Taking the second spot, far below Tokyo, is Osaka.[4] Kyoto, Nagasaki, and Yokohama were also featured several times.[5] Kyoto was presented as the place for temples and shrines while Nagasaki and Yokohama were defined as opened ports and industrial spots.

3.3 Primary Industry and Nature

Images of nature, environment and agriculture, forestry and fisheries usually appear in combination with each other. Since the fifties, these scenes were presented every decade.[6]

The topmost spotlighted images of nature were mountains (mainly Mount Fuji), bays, and small islands. The major images of agriculture, forestry and fisheries that were highlighted are scenes of tea picking, rice planting and rice terraces, aqua-farming and fish markets. In particular, the images of tea picking, rice planting and rice terraces were shown in South-East Asia as well as parts of East Asia aside from Japan.

3.4 Economy

Because of the Japanese economic growth, pictures of industries and commercial establishments have increased since the seventies.

In these pictures, the most frequent images are factories and industrial machines; for example, vintage manual assembly shops; then, they rep-

3 See *Tokyo: Ghi[n]za, the Main Artery of the Metropolis* (Landini, Fabris 1963, 131); *Tokyo* (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 288).

4 See *The port of Osaka* (De Marchi, Ferrara 2003, 105).

5 See *No Title* [Kyoto, around Toji] (Fedrizzi et al. 2002, 81); *Nagasaki in the Island of Kiusciu* [Kyushu] (Gribaudi 1935, 44 ff.); *The Port of Yokohama* (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 291).

6 See *Tea Picking. In the Background, the Majestic and Very Regular Cone of the Volcano Fugi* [Fuji] (Almagià 1962, 71); *The Bay of Ago* (Valussi, Barbina 1974, 121); *Rice Terraces in a District in the North of Tokyo* (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 289); *The Fish Market in Tokyo* (Cornaglia, Lavagna 1978, 59).

resented automation lines, and finally, modern industrial robots.[7] Large industrial and transport facilities, such as petrochemical complexes, dockyards, cargo ports, motor highways and high-speed railways, have also found their way into these textbooks. Moreover, social phenomena, such as excessive crowding of commuter trains during rush hour,[8] company cultures, such as morning assemblies and gymnastics,[9] as well as corporate governance systems, for example the so-called *zaibatsu* or *keiretsu*, were sometimes highlighted with accompanying illustrations.

3.5 Belief and Tradition

As for the cultural sites and institutions of Japan, Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples have been continuously portrayed as locations representing Japanese belief and tradition since the earliest versions of the books. For example, the temples of Kyoto, such as *Rokuonji* or *Kinkakuji* (the 'Golden Pavilion') and *Tōji* Itsukushima Shrine in Miyajima, near Hiroshima, and *Tōshōgū*, prominently in Nikkō figures.[10]

As for illustrations of the Japanese traditional ways of life, the Japanese-style house and rooms – timbered, floored in straw mats (*tatami*), and divided by paper doors (*shōji* or *fusuma*) – were constantly shown since the early ones as well. These were also sometimes related to the tea ceremony.[11]

In later textbooks, supposedly designed with expanded spaces for geography and their articles on different countries including Japan, both traditional cultures such as *ukiyo-e*, *kabuki* or *sumo*, and popular, modern cultures, such as cinema and comics, were illustrated.[12]

7 See *A Japanese Modern Factory of Radios* (D'Alessandro 1966, 69); *No Title* [The Automatic Assembly in a Factory of Videocassette Recorders] (Annunziata et al. 1999, 285).

8 See *Overcrowded Subways* (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 288).

9 See *Group Exercises in a Japanese Company* (Fedrizzi et al. 2002, 86).

10 See, for each case, *The Magnificent Golden Temple of Kyoto in a Picturesque Setting of Green* (D'Alessandro 1966, 71); *Shinto Temple in Miyajima* (Gribaudi 1957, 49); *No Title* [A Five-storey Pagoda in Nikko] (Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 254).

11 See *Tea Time in a Japanese House* (Landini, Fabris 1963, 129); *The Inside of a Japanese House and Its Garden* (Nice 1986, 232).

12 See *No Title* [an illustration (among the oldest) in a scene from the Tale of Genji] (Annunziata et al. 1999, 279); *No Title* [The sumo] (Annunziata et al. 1999, 282); *Kabuki Theater* (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 301); *An Image from the Film Seven Samurai by Akira Kurosawa* (Annunziata et al. 1999, 278); *No Title* [The comics (manga)] (Annunziata et al. 1999, 294).

4 Iconicity of Japan and Japanese Culture in Italian Textbooks

With the imagery presented in this work, what kind of image is built to represent Japan and the Japanese culture?

As a classic image, the picture of Mount Fuji is most frequently adopted in Italian geography textbooks published from 1912 up to 2014 (23 pictures in 17 textbooks). If we add textual descriptions, Mount Fuji has been mentioned much more times (24 out of 32 textbooks published in 1906-2014).

For example, a textbook published in 1906 states:

> The highest peak [in Japanese mountains] is the cone of *Fusiyama* [*Fujiyama*] (3750m), which is on the horizon in Tokyo and is hooded with snow for much of the year. It has never erupted after 1707 and it is the holy mountain of Japanese Buddhists. The artists reproduce its soft curve on folding screens, porcelains and paper fans as mandatory background of these genres of pictures. Volcanic eruptions and earthquakes are frequent and cause terrible disasters. (Pasanisi 1906, 835)

Also in a textbook published in 1912, the following description was attached to a drawing of Mount Fuji (fig. 2):[13]

> The volcano has been at rest since 1707. It is the sacred mountain of the Buddhists, and is represented on all objects of Japanese art. The lower slopes are covered with vegetation, forests. Bushes are inhabited by monkeys. For 10 months of the year, the top is covered with snow which shines at the bottom of the clear sky. (Corradi 1912, 25)

Over a hundred years later, a textbook published in 2014 had this description:

> Japan is a rugged and mountainous archipelago which consists of more than 3000 islands. The area is geologically young, still in the process of

13 The same drawing of Mount Fuji had been already adopted in the volume on East Asia of *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* by Eliseé Reclus (originally published in 1882; Italian version published in 1892), in the opening part of the article about Japan (Reclus 1882, 687 = 1892, 773). Herein, Reclus noted that this drawing was illustrated by Franz Schrader, a French geographer and alpinist, and then transformed into a photograph. According to the Japanese translator of Reclus (1882, 687 = 2015, 649), its original photograph was taken by Felice Beato in 1860s (Yokohama Archives of History 2006b, 40). Beato is an Italian-English photographer born in Corfu; that photograph was included in his photo album titled *Views in Japan*, which has been sold mainly as a souvenir for foreign tourists in Yokohama and has been one of those called 'Yokohama Photography' later (see: Yokohama Archives of History 2006a, 4-11; 2006b, 108-117; cf. Bennett 2006, 86-97). Thereafter, a very similar photograph was taken by Suzuki Shinichi I, a photographer having had a photo studio in Yokohama in 1870s (Kohara 2011, 90; cf. Bennett 2006, 165-71).

> adjustment: earthquakes are frequent and there are numerous volcanoes, many of which are still active. Just a volcano, Fujiyama (or Fujisan, 'Mr. Fuji', as the Japanese prefers to call it) is, with its height of 3776 meters, the traditional symbol of Japan. Fujiyama is inactive for more than three centuries. (Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 253)

As seen above, from past to present, Mount Fuji was referred to as an indication of how Japan is an earthquake archipelago situated in a volcanic zone. It was also an object of Japanese belief as well as a traditional symbol of the country. That is to say, it has been perceived as a physical landmark and as a cultural icon of Japan for a long time.

However, the images of Fujisan are featured with numerous changes. In particular, the images are usually featured in combination with another object. This is because those images are seen as Japanese icons, and Fujisan is viewed as a background or framework. The objects viewed against the backdrop of Fujisan create certain patterns and changes that complete the so-called Japanese scenario.

The first combination is Mount Fuji and another landform, such as a lake, a bay and a forest. This pattern can be found much more often in earlier textbooks.[14] This combination of images was reproduced most of the times.[15] This kind of image seems to have created more of an impression as expressed in its description: "the sacred mountain with many names, the symbol of the people and millenary civilization" (Landini, Fabris 1963, 121).[16]

The second pattern is Mount Fuji with rural and agriculture scenery, for example, a tea plantation, a rice field, or an old folk house.[17] In this combination, the agriculture scenery and the view of the country are seen as the main objects in the foreground with the mountain in the background. The way that Mount Fuji was placed in the background is normal in Japanese pictures and drawings and, therefore, this kind of image was adopted

14 See *The Fusiyama* (Gribaudi 1935, 44); *The Volcano Fusi-jama (3776m)* (Crinò 1941, 154); *No Title* [The Fuji Yama] (Almagià, Migliorini 1961, 38); *The Mount Fuji During the Winter* (D'Alessandro 1966, 67); *The Fuji* (De Marchi, Ferrara 2003, 103).

15 See *The Mount Fuji During the Winter* (D'Alessandro 1966, 67) is seen in a later textbook (Cornaglia, Lavagna 1978, 53); an image of the mountain and its reflection on a lake, as seen in *Japanese Rural Life: Rice Planting. in the Background, the Fujiama* (Olivi Terribile 1967, 89).

16 The picture attached with this description is also of Mount Fuji with a lake and a boat. The picture *The Fusi-Jama* in Crinò (1941, 153-5), where the mountain is described as a Japanese traditional symbol, was taken from the *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* by Reclus [1882] 1892.

17 See *Japanese Rural Life: Rice Planting. in the Background, the Fujiama* (Olivi Terribile 1967, 89); *No title* [A Japanese landscape: The characteristic shape of Mount Fuji] (Annunziata et al. 1999, 267); *A Japanese Snowy Volcano* (Fedrizzi et al. 2002, 80).

also in Italian geography textbooks. As if to show the origin of this kind of combination, see the picture *The characteristic shape of Mount Fuji* and the painting *The Great Wave off Kanagawa* in line (Annunziata et al. 1999, 267).[18]

Then, the third combination started being used since seventies. This pattern of images connects Fujisan with bullet trains, *Shinkansen*, which have been running since 1964.[19] In this combination, the *Shinkansen* is presented as a new means of transportation and the mountain stands in the background. In addition, this 'bullet train' has been often referred to as "a symbolic image of modern Japan" (Colussi et al. 1985, 267). It means that this composition placed the *Shinkansen* as a Japanese modern symbol located at the foreground with Mount Fuji as a Japanese traditional symbol on the background. It is thus represented as a contrasting pair of Japanese symbols.[20]

As seen above, images of the mountain are continuously adopted as the foremost Japanese icon. The images were reproduced in pictures combined with other various elements of Japanese nature, lifestyle, culture, and industry. Its reproductions seem to have strengthened the impression of the mountain as an icon even more.

While images of Mount Fuji were used over and over again, and its combination with other elements has become diverse, the mountain has held its image as a Japanese traditional symbol as well as a Japanese modern symbol. This refers to the bullet train or the *Shinkansen* in particular. In later textbooks, such an image showing the contrast between traditional and modern symbols in Japan is also well adopted.

18 This picture was taken by Dallas and John Heaton for National Geographic. The painting in the right was titled *Kanagawa oki nami-ura* (The Great Wave off Kanagawa) in *Fugaku Sanjūrokkei* (Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji) by Katsushika Hokusai.

19 See *No Title* [The Train Called Tokaido with the Cone of the Fuji Yama in the Background] (Cornaglia, Lavagna 1978, 60); *No title* [The Bullet Train of Tokyo-nagoya Line, in the Background the Famous Volcano Fuji] (Colussi et al. 1985, 267); *No title* [The Ultrarapid Train: the Line of Tokaido] (Leardi, Barozzi 1986, 320); *No title* [Shinkansen Train, Between Tokyo and Osaka. in the Background, the Fuji] (Annunziata et al. 1999, 270); *No title* [Shinkansen Train, Between Tokyo and Osaka] (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 288); *No title* [A Japanese High-speed Train (shinkansen)] (Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 181).

20 In addition, this kind of contrasting combination placing Mount Fuji in the background has been also found in pictures wherein a group of buildings in Tokyo and elsewhere are on the foreground (Leardi, Barozzi 1986, 320; Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 124).

5 Conclusion

In the previous section, it was assumed that images of Mount Fuji were continuously chosen as an icon in representing Japan and Japanese culture. These images are perceived as the foremost symbols of Japanese nature and mentality.

Needless to say, the adoption of those images in Italian geography textbooks seems to have been influenced by other Western language books, mainly in Europe. For example, the picture of figure 2 was also taken from Reclus's *Nouvelle géographie universelle*.[21] On the other hand, many textbooks since the 1960s referred to the *National Geographic*. And today, many of the pictures in the textbooks were borrowed from photo stock websites, such as *Imagestate* and *Alamy*. It could be assumed that the adoption of images by textbooks in the 1960s was influenced by the geographic encyclopedia in French. The more modern textbooks were influenced by the English tourism geography styles. Obviously, Japanese themselves presented such images outside of their country, especially those of Mount Fuji.[22] However, Italian geography textbooks have also chosen their subjects by themselves and have reproduced and changed the said images.

Meanwhile, the third combination of Mount Fuji as a Japanese traditional symbol with another object as a Japanese modern symbol is presented as an example of the idea of 'Japan as oxymoron' (i.e. hyper tradition and hyper modernity) or as double orientalism as classical orientalism and techno-orientalism in previous Japanese studies (Miyake 2011, 180-2).

Although this idea of Japan as a duality or as contradiction of tradition and modernity is not exactly new in Italian geography textbooks, it was strengthened as time went by.

21 As for other drawings in the same textbooks seen above (Corradi 1912), the drawing of figure 5 showing Nagasaki has been also quoted from Reclus (1882, 817 = 1892, 907). Looking at its inscription, this drawing has been made by a person named Taylor from a photograph and engraved in wood by Kohl, probably published in Paris in 1880 (its original photograph cannot be identified in this paper). The painting of figure 6 shows Yokohama foreign settlement in 1870s – 1880s, probably from the so-called Yokohama photography. The exactly similar picture to figure 6 has been archived in the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (2012). For reference, see Kusakabe Kimbei *Yokohama Foreign Settlement* (ca. 1880s), in Bennet (2006, 206). Kusakabe worked for Felice Beato and then produced souvenir albums containing hand-coloured views and costumes for foreigners in his own studio (Bennet 2006, 203).

22 For example, paintings of Mount Fuji were displayed in the World Exposition of 1873 in Vienna, the first international exposition in which the Japanese nation participated. After then, images of that mountain have been used to represent and, so to speak, advertise Japan by Japanese (Kohara 2011, 37-57).

The following images, as *Contrasts of civilization in Asia* (Gribaudi 1957, 65), *Traditional clothes next to Western costume* (Leardi, Barozzi 1986, 331), *Japanese woman wearing the traditional kimono [with a camera]* (Annunziata et al. 1999, 286), *Young women observing stars* (Annunziata et al. 1999, 280), and *A robot that prepares the sushi* (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 303),[23] might have implicated that idea.

As time passed, new images, especially related to the economic and industrial development of Japan, were developed, although traditional images were also preserved. This coexistence of images partly made contradictory impressions. The reproduction of images for traditional icons strengthened such an impression of contradiction, because other images connected with those icons became much more diverse.[24]

Furthermore, this type of duality of images was not limited to images of Japan and has been widely found in those of Asia to some extent. See, for example, the pictures *In Insular East Asia: A Village in the Philippines and an Area of Tōkyō* (Leardi, Barozzi 1986, 309), *Old and New Technologies are Alongside Each Other and Alternatives in Textile Production, One Used in Asia, the Other Exported More* (Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 151), *In Dammam*(Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 150), and *Globalization of Consumption* (Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 167).[25]

Textbooks tend to lack substantial changes from the previous ones, as shown in quite a lot of textbooks that adopted the same – or, at least, very similar – photographs or descriptions as those from several decades ago.

23 The picture *Traditional Clothes Next to Western Costume* has an attached description "Japan, definitely at the forefront of technological development, has preserved ancient local costumes. On the streets of Tokyo there are usually traditional robes next to increasingly widespread western costumes" (Leardi, Barozzi 1986, 331). The picture *Japanese woman wearing the traditional kimono [with a camera]* is also seen in Sofri, Sofri (2009, 300) and this picture of a woman wearing a kimono with a camera or mobile phone in her hand is popular in National Geographic Traveller (see: Bornoff 2005, 11). The painting of *Young women observing stars*, titled "Hoshi wo miru jyosei (Women observing stars)" and it was published by Ota Chou in 1936. Annunziata et al. (1999, 280) said that this painting was "probably painted in the twentieth century, when Japan had already started to become a modern industrial power, this image seems to symbolize the contradiction between tradition and modernity. The first symbolism is based on the clothes that the young women were wearing; the second from the activities which were seen: to observe the stars with a modern telescope".

24 In contrast to the reproduction from the outside, there have been responses and conformities to it from the Japanese. Self-orientalism is one of those responses. For a relation between orientalism and self-orientalism in Japan, see Miyake (2011, 182-8).

25 To the picture *In Insular East Asia: a Village in the Philippines and an Area of Tōkyō*, the following description is attached: "In Insular East Asia, as indeed throughout the continent, different ways of living coexist and they are often conflicting. On the left we see, for exam-

In geography, more clearly shown in tourist geography in particular, differences between one's own culture and other cultures are emphasised and reproduced at the present time as well. To contrast images of Japan, particularly those of modernity to those of tradition, further development starting from today should be tracked continuously. It might be observed that the Japanese should seriously consider the possibility of portraying contradictory images of volcanoes and earthquake islands, atomic-bombed country and the promotion of nuclear electricity generation.[26]

In addition, issues that need to be further clarified are the actual influence on students, comparative study with other countries' textbooks and, moreover, what images of Japan and the Japanese culture have been seen in other fields in contemporary Italy, that is, other than geography textbooks. These issues should be examined in further studies.

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ple, a village of a primitive tribe in the Philippines, next to an aerial view of Tokyo, one of the largest metropolis in the world" (Leardi, Barozzi 1986, 309).

26 See *Kobe Earthquake* (De Marchi, Ferrara 2003, 105); *Effects of the Tsunami* (Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 14); *Major Earthquakes in Japan in This [20th] Century* (Annunziata et al. 1999, 265); *The Conquests of Japanese Imperialism in the Late 19th Century and the Second World War* (Annunziata et al. 1999, 280); *Effects of the Atomic Bomb* (Sofri, Sofri 2009, 295); *Hiroshima* (Sofri, Sofri 2014a, 75); *A Nuclear Power Plant Near Fukushima* (Annunziata et al. 1999, 291); *The Problems of Pollution* (De Marchi, Ferrara 2003, 107). As mentioned above, Italian geography textbooks from the earlier one have a lot of descriptions – and sometimes photographs too – about Japanese volcanos and earthquakes. Pasanisi (1906, 835) already said: "Eruptions, and especially earthquakes are frequent and cause terrible disasters", including the latest Hanshin-Awaji and East-Japan earthquakes (see *Kobe Earthquake* and *Effects of the Tsunami* pictures). Sometime after World War II, these textbooks have added photographs of the nuclear bombing, in addition to the descriptions of the Japanese invasion (see *The Conquests of Japanese Imperialism in the Late 19th Century and the Second World War*, *Effects of the Atomic Bomb*, and *Hiroshima* pictures). Those textbooks have also come to refer to the Japanese promotion of nuclear electricity (see *A Nuclear Power Plant Near Fukushima* and *The Problems of Pollution* pictures) and the nuclear accident in Fukushima 2011. In the recent ones, these were mentioned too. Sofri e Sofri (2014a, 257) wrote: "The severe reactor accident in Fukushima (2011) appears to have led to a rethink of the use of nuclear power, which however seems to come back sometime after".

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Part 2.
Japanese Language and Japanese Education

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Reading Lessons for Advanced-Level Learners Using Modern Japanese Literature
Learners' and Teachers' Observations from Portfolios

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Abstract This paper describes the program of advanced-level reading lessons carried out in the Department of Japanese Studies at Hamburg University in 2014. We will first sketch a framework of the lesson. To enable students to study autonomously, we began to compile a portfolio in order to look back on studies throughout the semester, focusing on reading comprehension and presentations during lessons. In this paper, we will describe the structure of this portfolio and give an overview of individual students' goals and reflections of the semester as a whole, as well as the records that each student kept of their preparation for and observations regarding presentation assignments.

Keywords Portfolio. Autonomous Learning. Reading lessons using Japanese literature.

1 Introduction

A recent trend in teaching Japanese as a foreign language is to focus on the development of communication skills as the primary learning objective, which, in the sphere of reading comprehension, is evident since increasing emphasis is being placed on extracting information necessary for communication or accomplishing given tasks, using scanning and skimming strategies.

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This accounts for the on-going tendency in the selection of learning material for intermediate and advanced level lessons – in which relatively lengthy passages are read – to use texts that are written primarily to serve the purpose of conveying knowledge and information such as articles on current affairs taken from the Internet, newspapers or journals, and academic papers. By contrast, literary texts are being perceived rather negatively since they are believed to be unsuitable for the training of communication skills: as a matter of fact, the language of literature is predominantly considered to be unique, as discussed by Takahashi (2009) in the context of English education, and literary texts are often associated with the grammar-translation method.

Since its founding, studies undertaken in the Department of Japanese Studies at Hamburg University have centred on classical literature that, together with political studies, still constitutes one of the key areas of research today. Thus, it is natural for the students enrolled in Japanese Studies to consider literature as a subject area of further research, while they also tend to adopt learning materials taken from literature with some degree of familiarity. In the meantime, the opportunity to study in Japan for at least half a year as required to obtain the degree enables students, when they read, to perform an analysis based on their personal experiences or to envisage specific situations that can be anticipated in a Japanese setting.

In this paper, we will first offer an overview of advanced-level reading lessons for Japanese Studies majors using the unaltered, original text of a literary work. Then, we will discuss the portfolio programme introduced during the Winter Semester of 2014 and examine the effects on students' learning observed over one semester. We will review the framework of the portfolio, which was implemented as a potential aid to encourage students' autonomous learning, giving details on the elements provided from the teaching side such as learning the goals of the course, points to focus on when reading, student assignments and assessment method. By analysing observations and reflections from both students and teaching staff, we wish to examine from various perspectives the learning outcomes of one semester of reading lessons using unaltered, original texts from modern literature.

2 Reading Lessons using Literary Works: Learning Goals and Assessment

2.1 Learning Goals of Reading Lessons using Literary Works

First of all, we will present the learning goals of the reading course. Depending on the semester in which the course is held, the majority of course participants may have already finished their exchange period in Japan, or may have yet to leave to Japan. In either case, primary emphasis is placed on acquiring the ability to independently read and understand literary texts that have not been specifically modified for learners. The first step to achieve this is to learn and understand the vocabulary as well as the grammar that are used in the texts, and to acquire techniques so that students can solve their own questions using various tools.

In addition, the course aims to give an understanding of the characteristics that are unique to literary texts and to provide an opportunity to raise awareness about the significance thereof. These are, in detail:

- To understand expressions that are unique to written dialogue, written language, or literary Japanese.
- To visualise text, i.e. to create mental pictures or images based on the text that has been read, including gestures and movements of people and animals, scenery and landscapes.
- To identify factors that are of great significance to understand the text, but that cannot be investigated using tools, unlike vocabulary or grammar. These include identifying speakers in dialogue, restoring omitted elements in the text, linguistic expressions related to inversion and viewpoint, and entities indicated by demonstratives such as こ ko, そ so, あ a.

The text will be read while attention is paid to the above points. Once the students have fully understood the text, we will proceed to the literary reading of the text, where opinions will be exchanged with regard to possible interpretations of the text, predictions of the ending and so on. In this course, we are determined that the goals of reading lessons using literary works have been achieved once students have increased their awareness about different possibilities in the interpretation of a text through the aforementioned process.

2.2 Reading Lessons Using Literary Works: Lesson Plan and Selection of the Text

Our lessons start with the goals presented in the previous section and continue for one semester. It should be noted that, after the first couple of sessions, students will take over the responsibility of conducting lessons themselves. More precisely, a section of the chosen text will be assigned to each lesson according to a reading plan created at the start of the course so that the students will be able to prepare a presentation in advance and give lessons in turns. Using only Japanese in principle, the 'presenter' discusses his or her section in the text by giving explanations or posing questions concerning vocabulary, grammar, context and interpretations of the text, while confirming the understanding of other participants. Other students are likewise required to attend the lesson prepared so as to participate in discussions and compare their own interpretation of the text to that of their peers.

Now, we will describe how the learning material is selected, exploring the aspects taken into account in the selection process. There are pros and cons in relation to the use of an extract from a long piece and, likewise, of a short, complete piece as a learning material. However, since finishing a short piece will enable students to exchange opinions and questions concerning the entire piece, during class time as well as in their papers, it is common to use pieces that can be finished during the course. At the same time, it is important that the chosen text provides an appropriate length for a week's reading when divided by the number of participants. On the one hand, in terms of vocabulary, it is often observed that seemingly difficult words can be readily understood by simply consulting a dictionary; on the other hand, even when one lacks the knowledge of certain words or expressions used in the text, an approximate meaning can occasionally be guessed provided that the development of the overall story is rather straightforward. For this reason, the difficulty level of vocabulary is not considered to be a criterion for text selection.

When examining the contents of the text, we ensure that the subject matter is one that more or less attracts students' interest, while it is equally important that the story progresses with an agreeable – somewhat speedy – tempo throughout the text. This is because having an interest in the actual contents of the text plays a critical role in motivating students to proceed with reading. In addition to this, we select a text that includes a large amount of dialogue and in which the latter plays an important part. Furthermore, it is preferred that the text has a structure that is more complex and not merely descriptive, yet not overly complicated. Another condition we take into consideration is the implied meaning behind linguistic expressions used in a text, including expressions of emotions or states of mind, and the depiction of scenery.

It must be observed that it is certainly not easy to find a text that satisfies all the above criteria. In addition, we must take into account that the overall linguistic level of the class varies from one semester to another, not to mention interests among student: as a consequence, we renew learning material every semester accordingly.

2.3 Assessment Method of Reading Lessons Using Literary Works

At the end of the term, having read the entire text through a semester, a paper assignment will be given to students, who are asked to reread and analyse the overall text. The assignment requires them to gain an insight into the text as a whole; for instance, they may analyse the main characters' changing states of mind or how an essential event in the story affects the characters. Students reread the text from the given perspectives and report how they have interpreted or understood the text in their papers using their native language. Now, the aspects to be taken into consideration for the assessment of the paper are:

- Understanding of the overall development of the text.
- Whether the text was reread from a perspective suitable for the assignment.
- Relevance of quotations from the text to support their arguments.
- Whether quoted parts were correctly understood and translated.

Moreover, if the subject matter has already been handled in lessons, it will be also taken into consideration whether the student has developed his or her argument on the basis of what has been discussed or taught in the class. While accuracy is the primary criterion for assessing comprehension from a linguistic point of view, inclusion of personal opinion or observations will serve an additional basis for the assessment of text interpretation.

3 Reading Lessons in Winter Semester 2014

3.1 Course Overview

So far, we have offered an overview of a typical course being taught every semester. From here on, we will focus on the course taught in the Winter Semester of 2014 as our case study. In this semester, a total number of 22 students took part in the course: 18 of them were in the 7th semester of a Bachelor programme (for whom this course was obligatory), 1 student in the 9th semester of a Bachelor programme and 3 in the 1st semester of a Master's programme (the course was optional for these 4). A lecturer

and a teaching assistant (hereafter referred to as TA) took charge of the lessons and were given different responsibilities. Lessons were held once a week for 14 weeks (excluding Christmas holidays) and the duration of each lesson was 90 minutes. In each lesson, a text equivalent to approximately 4 paperback pages in length was studied and 2 students gave a presentation, each using half of the total lesson time.

All the participants had had a long-term experience of living in Japan and most of them were due to start writing a thesis to complete their degree programme soon after this course, which implied that they would no longer be attending Japanese language lessons from the following semester onwards. Thus, at the start of the semester, students were told that one of the learning goals was to acquire the ability to conduct self-directed learning. It is against this background that we introduced the portfolio method as a potential instrument to guide students towards an autonomous learning. A set of conditions favoured the implementation of the portfolio, including the availability of a TA and that the level of Japanese language competence was fairly consistent among participants. Details of our twofold portfolio approach – one part concerning the semester as a whole and the other focusing on individual presentations – will be given in a later section.

It must be noted that the TA has contributed greatly to the preparation of each student's presentation; prior to his or her presentation, the presenter is required to study and understand the assigned part of the text in detail, even though it is quite difficult for a student to thoroughly prepare a presentation on his or her own. This task gives those students who are otherwise not proactive in terms of participation in the classroom a chance to explain and pose questions in Japanese regarding the assigned section of the text. We instructed students on how to prepare the presentation with the assistance of the TA, as described later. It was assumed that the other students had prepared before attending the lesson.

3.2 Text Used: "Xie"

A short novel titled "Xie" (獬 シエ Shie), included in *Hajimete no bungaku* (Literature for beginners, Asada 2007) published by Bungeishunju-sha (first appearing in *Tsubaki-Hime* in September of 2003, published by Bunshunbunko) was selected as the text for the reading course in the Winter Semester of 2014.

This novel tells a story about a woman named Suzuko and of her encounter with a legendary creature called Xie. Having lost her pet cat named Rin that she kept for 9 years, Suzuko, a lonely woman with no family, is given Xie from a mysterious pet shop owner. The story depicts a series of events occurring in the several days they spend together as well as the leading character's inner growth. It displays aspects of a fantasy novel and

features the depiction of scenery, characters' states of mind and feelings throughout the narrative in both dialogue and internal monologue.

This piece, consisting of 45 pages with 15 lines per page, was selected as the course material for the following reasons:

First, this novel contains clear fictional elements in its setting: a legendary animal endowed with the ability to distinguish between good and bad people, and which survives by fulfilling people's woes. Second, a good deal of descriptive writing about personal memories and feelings is featured in the text; for example, the secret surrounding the birth of the leading character Suzuko and the inferiority complex she feels about her life in general. This novel explores a young woman's view of marriage and life as well as reactions from the people around her, revealing in the background common views in Japanese society, which is thought to provide possible topics for further discussion. Furthermore, the text includes a foreshadowing to later events hidden in the narrative, which is thought to be enjoyable for students to read and interpret.

In the actual reading process, the main goal in the comprehension of a text was to understand its vocabulary, grammar and syntactic structures; we also aimed to build correct linguistic comprehension by understanding essential elements such as omission, inversion and the viewpoint of a sentence. Students analysed emotions and intentions as indicated by the depiction of facial expressions and gestures, and exchanged opinions during classes. At the same time, they were able to make assumptions about personalities and human relations among the characters on the basis of specific words, expressions or a speech style used in dialogue. Furthermore, discussions were held on a regular basis to deal with topics such as the course of events, characters' reactions or the predictions of consequences in the story.

3.3 Assignment and Assessment

Having finished reading the complete text over a period of a semester, according to the plans and the method described above, students were given a paper assignment to be completed in 3 weeks. This assignment required students to read the text once more and summarise in their native language the kind of animal Xie is (e.g. appearance, character and temperament) and the significance Xie has in Suzuko's life. In so far, students were further required to make reference to and provide translations of parts in the text in which these aspects are well described, and to add personal opinions to explain their argument. Since this was an obligatory subject, it was necessary to award grades in addition to a simple pass-or-fail evaluation for course credits. For this purpose, we adopted a grading system that combines the assessment of the paper report and the portfolio,

allotting 90% weight to the former and 10% to the latter in the calculation of a final grade. The following criteria were considered for assessment and each item was evaluated on a scale of 1 to 5:

1. Structure and length.
2. Validity of argument/discussion concerning the given topics.
3. Personal opinions and originality.
4. Length and relevance of quotations.
5. Accuracy in understanding and quotations.

All the 22 students who submitted the assignment achieved the passing score of 60 or more, with an average score of 71.3 before being merged with the assessment of portfolios.

Instead of simply discussing the topics provided by the teacher or the TA, some students also developed a personal interpretation of the text or a rather sceptical or critical view towards it, or posed further questions in their papers, all of which indicate that they have not only regarded the text as a mere learning material for Japanese but also developed an approach to read it as a piece of literature. Whilst there were some inaccuracies or confusion in students' understanding of finer details, it is reasonable to state that most students have achieved a satisfactory level of comprehension of the text as a whole.

In contrast, during the assessment of the portfolio, due to its main function as a self-review of students' learning progress, we considered personal remarks to be unfitting for assessment and we restricted assessment criteria to the following 3 points that relate to the carrying out of the course:

1. Submission of a total of 4 assignments given during the course.
2. Whether the student has carried out the following at the start and the end of the semester: self-evaluation of skills, consideration of learning purposes and tools, and reflections on his or her own study.
3. Whether records were kept of each student's preparation for and self-review of his or her presentation. The portfolios assessed in Winter Semester of 2014 gave a class average of 4.2 out of 5 grade points, resulting in an average of 79.7 points as a final course grade.

4 Implementation of the portfolio

We now move on to discuss our portfolio programme and implementation methodology in more detail. First, we will introduce the structure and components of the portfolio, followed by a summary of the results. Then, we will review our findings from the implementation of the portfolio and present our conclusions.

4.1 Structure of the Portfolio

As mentioned earlier in section 3, the portfolio used in this course can be broadly divided into two categories: one concerning the semester as a whole and the other focusing on individual students' presentations. More specifically, it consists of a total of 4 worksheets: 2 concerning the entire semester were introduced at the start and the end of the semester, and the other 2 focusing on the presentation were used before and after the presentation. Figure 1 illustrates the lesson plan over the semester and the components of the portfolio.

Portfolio worksheet 1: Objectives before starting the course
Portfolio worksheet 2: Records of the preparation for the presentation
Portfolio worksheet 3: Review of presentation
Portfolio worksheet 4: Self-evaluation at the end of the course

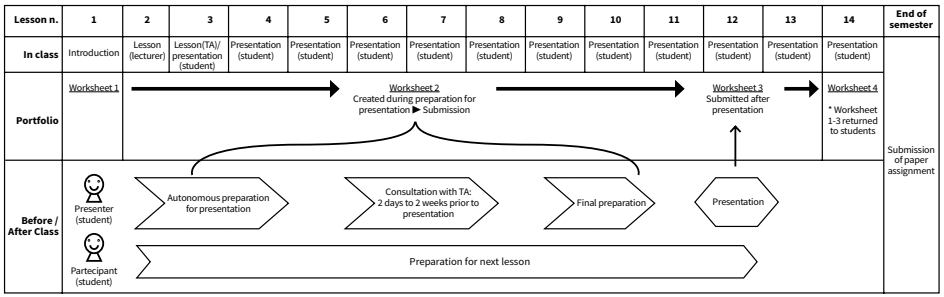

Figure 1. Lesson Plan and Components of the Portfolio

4.2 Components of the Portfolio

The following sections will describe each worksheet of the portfolio in detail as well as how it was implemented. Note that students were allowed to complete the worksheets in either Japanese or their native language.

4.2.1 Portfolio Worksheet 1: Objectives before Starting the Course (Appendix 1)

The purpose of this worksheet is to give students an opportunity to objectively assess their own Japanese competence at the start of the semester as well as to articulate aims and challenges related to participating in the lessons. This worksheet was introduced to the class at the start of the semester: after an explanation of the purpose and the methodology of the portfolio, all students were asked to complete this first worksheet. Ques-

tions were created in advance by the lecturer and the TA in the 'can-do' list form based on the learning goals described in section 2.1 of this paper. Since this course was taught as a part of a reading comprehension training, we instructed students, orally as well as by means of supplied worksheets, to answer the questions exclusively from the perspective of their reading competency in Japanese. The questions involved the following spheres:

a. I know how to read Kanji.
b. I can understand the meaning of words.
c. I can understand the sentence as a whole through comprehension of grammar and sentence structure.
d. I can identify and restore omitted elements to understand a sentence.
e. I can understand the author's message written using expressions that are not my native language.
f. I can detect difficult passages and understand them.
g. I have adequate background knowledge of the Japanese culture to understand its literature.
h. Reserved for students' own criteria.
i. Reserved for students' own criteria.
j. Reserved for students' own criteria.

Students perform a self-evaluation by rating each item on a scale of 1 (cannot do) to 5 (can do), on the basis of their own, non-standardized criteria. They are free to leave comments or notes in the designated areas beside items a) to g), as well as to propose further items that they consider to be important in sections h), i) and j).

Next, from the above criteria in a) to j), students select items they particularly wish to improve through the lessons and describe how they intend to achieve this with respect to each selected item. The lecturer and the TA collect the worksheets once the students have completed them.

4.2.2 Portfolio Worksheet 2: Records of the Preparation for the Presentation (Appendices 2 & 3)

The purpose of this worksheet is to keep records of the preparatory process of the presentation, helping the presenting student to grasp the key points of the learning assignment and the presentation by reviewing his or her initial weaknesses or lack in understanding. This worksheet is supplied to each student as he or she starts preparing for the presentation and is submitted to the lecturer or the TA after the presentation once the student has completed it.

First, the student makes a photocopy of the pages concerning the presentation and underlines the parts that he or she did not understand dur-

ing the preparation using a straight line and numbering them in order. Next, the student copies these underlined parts into the designated space on the left side of the worksheet and prepares questions to ask during a Q&A session with the TA. The questions are discussed later on during the consultation session when the student writes solutions or other findings into the space on the right side. If the student notices any mistakes in his or her initial interpretation after discussing with the TA, he or she will underline the corresponding passage in the text with a wavy line (~) and mark their order with letters of the alphabet. Again, the parts underlined with a wavy line are copied into the left side of the worksheet, and the student's observations are written on the right. With the help of this worksheet, the student proceeds further with the preparation by reviewing the elements related to his or her initial mistakes or misunderstanding, and putting together the key questions to ask other students during his or her presentation.

4.2.3 Portfolio Worksheet 3: Review of the Presentation (Appendix 4)

The purpose of this worksheet is to review the presentation in an objective manner as well as to summarise observations regarding the presentation. It is supplied to individual students on the day of the presentation and is to be submitted to the lecturer or the TA during the following lesson.

This worksheet is to be written in prose in relation to the following 3 points: successes in the presentation, difficult or challenging parts of the presentation, and observations from the presentation (e.g. of oneself being a presenter or feedback from the class, etc.).

4.2.4 Portfolio Worksheet 4: Self-evaluation at the End of the Course (Appendix 5)

This worksheet aims to provide students with an opportunity to review their participation in the course over the semester and perform an objective self-assessment at the end of it, whereby they can identify accomplishments with respect to the objectives established at the beginning as well as identify goals to progress further. The worksheet is supplied to the entire class at once during the final lesson.

The students objectively self-evaluate their end-of-course Japanese competence by answering the same 'can-do' questions asked in portfolio worksheet 1. To facilitate the students to reflect on their participation in the course, the previous three worksheets, namely, 'Objectives before starting the course', 'Records of the preparation for the presentation' and 'Review of presentation' are temporarily returned to them. After performing a self-

evaluation in the same way as at the start of the course, they can include further comments in response to the questions such as to what extent the 'Objectives upon start of the course' have been achieved; how they evaluate the achievement plan of the objectives set out at the beginning of the semester; or what kinds of text they hope to read in the future and for what purpose.

Worksheet 1 to 4 were collected either at the end of the lesson from the students who finished writing during the lesson, or were alternatively submitted together with the end-of-semester paper assignment from those students who wished to take more time to complete their entry to the worksheet or keep the portfolios as reference for their papers.

5 Results from Portfolios

This section analyses the collected portfolios and presents a summary of our observations for each worksheet. Note that, although 22 students participated in the course as mentioned in section 3.1, our analysis takes into account a total of 21 students since one student failed to submit some of the required worksheets.

5.1 Portfolio Worksheet 1: Objectives before Starting the Course

We will begin our analysis with worksheet 1. After discussing the method used for the self-evaluation of Japanese competence, we will observe which areas students hoped to improve in particular through the course as well as how they have planned their study in this context. Although it is assumed that each student has a different yardstick to base his or her evaluation on, in order to grasp the feedback from the class as a whole, we will calculate the average score (on a scale of 1 to 5) for each competency area as well as indicate the areas that are of particular interest for improvement, as summarised in table 1.

Table 1. Start-of-semester class average of self-evaluation scores and areas of interest for improvement (n=21, multiple selection possible)

Questions		Self-evaluation scores: class average /5	No. of students who selected this criterion for improvement /21
a	I know how to read Kanji	2.6	10
b	I can understand the meaning of words	3.2	9
c	I can understand the sentence as a whole through comprehension of grammar and sentence structure	3.6	5
d	I can identify and restore omitted elements to understand a sentence	3.0	14
e	I can understand the author's message written in a language of which I am not a native speaker	3.3	5
f	I can detect difficult passages and understand them	4.2	2
g	I have adequate background knowledge of the Japanese culture to understand its literature	3.3	4

As shown in table 1, the lowest score was given to a), "I know how to read Kanji" (class average of 2.6), highlighting the need shared among participants for improving their Kanji competence. This is followed by d), "I can identify and restore omitted elements to understand a sentence" (class average of 3.0). In contrast, f), "I can research difficult passages and understand them", received the highest average score at 4.2, indicating that each student has a learning strategy of his or her own and is adequately satisfied with it in practice.

When asked which competency areas they particularly wished to improve, the most commonly selected area was d), "I can identify and restore omitted elements to understand a sentence" (14 students), followed by a), "I know how to read Kanji" (10 students), and b), "I can understand the meaning of words" (9 students). Again, similarly to the aforementioned results of the 1-to-5 scale self-evaluation, it seems reasonable to conclude that most of the students are confident with their own learning strategies.

It should be mentioned that some students provided additional items and articulated personal objectives using the free space in h), i) and j), including the ability to read the text more quickly, the ability to understand the text without consulting a dictionary for vocabulary and Kanji, the ability to understand onomatopoeia, and the ability to read and summarise a text.

5.2 Portfolio Worksheet 2: Records of Preparing for the Presentation

In this section, we will summarise the characteristics observed on worksheet 2 of the portfolio that was introduced during the preparation. We will categorise responses from the students according to the 'can-do' question items of worksheet 1 and give examples of passages with which students found difficulty along with additional comments.

5.2.1 Knowledge of Kanji Readings

It was observed that, with the help of dictionaries, many of the students were able to find the correct reading for Kanji. However, the worksheets also revealed students' difficulty to choose the most natural reading option out of multiple possibilities or to determine the appropriate option based on the context (example 1 below). Other mistakes or questions from students centred around 'sequential voicing' (*rendaku* 連濁), as demonstrated in example 2.

Example 1: 外見 *gaiken*, 'appearance' (161)
Despite the help of dictionaries, it appears that it was difficult for students to determine the correct reading between *gaiken* and *sotomi*.

Example 2: 全品 *zenpin*, 給食係 *kyūshokugakari*, 'lunch duty' (161)
ぜんひん *zenhin*, きゅうしょくかかり *kyūshokukakari*, respectively.

5.2.2 Knowledge of the Meaning of Words

It was evident from the collected worksheets that students had prepared for the lesson in terms of vocabulary, in the same way as for Kanji readings; that is, by consulting dictionaries about meanings or asking a Japanese native speaker. At the same time, however, our results revealed limitations associated with self-teaching in understanding subtle nuances of onomatopoeic words or distinguishing idioms as presented in examples 3 to 5.

Example 3: ふむふむ *fumufumu*; ぼそぼそ *bosoboso*; ちょこんと *chokonto*, 'small and quiet' (158)
Despite the use of dictionaries, subtle shades of the meaning of these words were not fully understood.

Example 4: 一目置いてる *ichimoku oiteru*, 'have respect to, yield the palm to' (158)
Failing to recognise 一目置く *ichimoku oku* as an idiom, some students

read 一目 *hitome*, misinterpreting it as 'a glance'.

Example 5: 立派なビルに囲まれて見る影もない *rippa na biru ni kakomarete mirukage mo nai*, 'unrecognisable, surrounded by enormous buildings' (159)

Failing to recognise 見る影もない *mirukage mo nai* ('unrecognisable, have no trace left of') as an idiom, some students misinterpreted the sentence as 'being shadowed by tall buildings'.

5.2.3 Understanding of Grammar and Syntactic Structures

The general impression was that students possess sound knowledge of grammar up to the intermediate level; nevertheless, students asked the TA many questions in relation to expressions that are peculiar to the written or literary language such as those of examples 6 to 8. In particular, it seems that they were not able to investigate certain expressions by themselves since it was unclear as to how to determine the word boundaries of an expression consisting of multiple grammatical elements or verbs conjugated according to Classical Japanese, as shown in example 9.

Example 6: さぞ悲しかろうねえ *sazo kanashikarō nee*, 'must be deeply saddened' (151)

Example 7: 怪しげな *ayashige na*, 'dubious, suspicious' (153); 眠たげな *nemutage na*, 'seems sleepy' (154)

Example 8: ばかなりに可愛い *bakanari ni kawaii*, 'cute, though silly' (168)

Example 9: 飛びかからんばかりに *tobikakaran bakari ni*, 'as if it would throw itself upon' (171-2)

Furthermore, many of the questions and misinterpretations concerned sentence final expressions such as sentence-ending particles (example 10) or inflections that are unique to spoken language (examples 11-12). We had assumed that the participants would be familiar with various speech styles of spoken Japanese thanks to their long-term experience of living in Japan; instead, our results indicated that they have had little opportunity to analyse spoken language in written form, more specifically, to deduce a character's profile from a certain sentence-ending style or review grammatical rules of spoken Japanese.

Example 10: とんでもないわ *tondemonai wa*, 'no way; not at all' (153); シエ というんだがね *shie to iundagane*, 'it is called Xie'; また猫かよ *mata*

neko kayo, 'a cat again?'; あなたがいなくてもちっとも困らないもの *anata ga inakutemo chittomo komaranai mono*, 'I would be perfectly fine without you' (171)

Example 11: 来やしないさ *koyashinai sa*, 'will definitely not come' (154)

Example 12: こりゃすごい *korya sugoi*, 'how impressive' (156)

5.2.4 Understanding Omissions

Japanese is commonly regarded as a language featuring a frequent use of the omission. Elements that are omitted "can be of any scale, ranging from a word, to a phrase equivalent to a sentence, or even the topic itself or speech acts in some cases" (Kumagai 1997, 49). When reading, a native speaker of Japanese restores the omitted element in text on the basis of the context, even though this process is generally considered to be difficult for Japanese learners. This was evident in our case study, emerging in the preparatory process of the presentation: examples include incorrect identification of the speaker in a dialogue, or misunderstanding the omission of a sentence subject or the point of view in a specific section (examples 13-14).

Example 13: みなにっこりと微笑みかけてくれた *mina nikkori to hohoemikakete kureta*, 'everybody gave a smile' (159)

Some students failed to deduce from the context as to who smiled at whom, why, and the character that was pleased by this smile.

Example 14: プロポーズを断った男の人 *puropōzu wo kotowatta otokonohito*, 'the man whose marriage proposal was rejected' (167)

The subject is omitted in the text but can be understood from the context that it is わたし*watashi*, (literally 'I', used by a female character) who rejected the proposal. To the contrary, some students misinterpreted it as 'the man rejecting a proposal from another woman'.

5.2.5 Understanding Expressions

Our overall impression is that students have difficulty in understanding Japanese euphemism and rhetoric to visualise a specific situation or scenery as examples 15 and 16 demonstrate.

Example 15: 踊り場の空 *odoriba no sora*, 'the sky from the stairway landing' (159)

The term appears in the text to describe the sky seen from the window on a stairway landing but was misinterpreted as ‘the sky on the ceiling of the staircase’.

Example 16: 老けないのではなく、若い時分から変に老けていた *fukenai no-dewa naku, wakai jibun kara hen ni fukete ita*, ‘not that he doesn’t get old, but he’s always looked rather old’ (161)

This passage implies that this male character has had an old-looking face since he was young. Some students could not determine whether or not he really looks old.

5.2.6 Autonomous Problem-Solving Ability and Techniques

No input was seen on the worksheets in direct relation to this subject; nevertheless, it was observed that the learning action taken in response to an unsolved problem, such as a word not mentioned in dictionaries or an unclear expression, differed among the participants. While a group of students took further steps of their own initiative by asking a Japanese native language-exchange partner or searching for information on the Internet, other students waited until the Q&A session with the TA for further explanation, although it must be mentioned that the difficulty level of the problem as well as each student’s acquaintance with Japanese native speakers have played a major role in making this difference.

5.2.7 Background Knowledge of Japanese Culture

Our results concerning background knowledge of Japanese culture and society showed that, even for students with experience of studying abroad in Japan, it was not as straightforward for them to correctly interpret some terms and expressions encountered for the first time.

Example 17: お嬢さん *ojōsan*, ‘young lady’ (149)

This term is used in the text by an elderly pet shop owner to address the female protagonist who is in her thirties. The application of this term does not necessarily depend on the age of the other party: it can be used at times by a shop assistant to address a female customer. Nevertheless, the students seem to have strongly associated the term with “a familiar form of address for somebody else’s daughter or a young girl” (Meikyō Kokugo Jiten), i.e. a common definition in dictionaries, leaving them to question an appropriate age range for the use of *ojōsan*.

Example 18: 保健所 *hokenjo*, ‘health care centre’ (153)

The pet shop owner talks about bringing Xie to this facility because he has not found anybody to look after it. Since many dictionaries define the term as “a public organisation which provides local residents with services such as health consultation, sanitary guidance and disease prevention” (Meikyō Kokugo Jiten) or similar, the students were not able to anticipate the animal’s destiny insinuated in the context.

Example 19: シェー！ *shē!* (160)

This expression originally appeared in a popular animated TV series in the sixties as a shout used by a character, together with a peculiar body gesture, to express surprise. It appears in the text as a pun with シエ *shie*, made by a male character who learns that the animal is called Xie. For the students without this background knowledge, it remained unclear as to why the man says in this particular scene.

Example 19: 吹きこぼれる花のただなかにたゆたい消えて行くシエの魂 *fukikoboreru hana no tadanaka ni tayutai kieteyuku shie no tamashii*, ‘Xie’s soul swaying amidst the scattering petals of the cherry trees in full bloom, fading away’ (189)

The student who presented this part of the text had made many entries in her worksheet with regard to vocabulary, noting the meaning of terms such as 吹きこぼれる花，ただなか and たゆたい During the Q&A session with the TA as well as in the class, it was also discussed that the author employs these words together to give an effective depiction of a dying life, given the significance of the cherry blossom tree in Japan as a symbol of impermanence. Furthermore, it was discussed that the frequent use of cherry blossoms throughout the text helps the reader to visualise the passage of time.

5.3 Portfolio Worksheet 3: Review of the Presentation

Using this worksheet, students reflected on their own presentations with regard to the following 3 aspects: successful parts of the presentation, difficult or challenging parts of the presentation, and observations about the presentation (for example about the experience of presenting or feedback from the class). This worksheet was written in prose, with students making remarks from various standpoints on each of the above aspects. To aid our analysis, we grouped students’ remarks into the following 3 categories: 1) remarks on presentation method, 2) remarks on individual student’s Japanese competence, 3) observations about the rest of the class. A summary of students’ remarks is presented below.

5.3.1 Presentation Method

Many of the remarks made on the presentation itself were about time allocation, style of asking other students to contribute, manner of talking, and attitude as a presenter.

5.3.2 Japanese Competence

In relation to Japanese competence, it was observed that the experience of conducting a presentation led many of the participants to recognise their weaknesses in the Japanese language. Some students wrote in more detail and analysed the reasons for a difference in levels of competence in different areas.

5.3.3 Observations about the Rest of the Class

In terms of impressions of the other members of the class, many students observed how diversely the text was interpreted among students. Also, many remarks were made concerning mistakes or misunderstandings that were common to most students; some example are “often, everybody in the class made the same mistake” and “the entire class encountered difficulty in the same part”.

5.4 Portfolio Worksheet 4: Self-evaluation at the End of the Course

We asked students to perform a second self-evaluation at the end of the semester using the same ‘can-do’ questions asked at the start of the semester. Again, for each question, we calculated the class average of self-evaluation scores and display these alongside the results to the start-of-semester values in table 2.

Table 2. Comparison of class average of self-evaluation scores at start (worksheet 1) and end (worksheet 4) of semester (n=21)

	Questions	Worksheet 1 / 5	Worksheet 4 / 5	Change from Worksheet 1 to 4
a	I know how to read Kanji	2.6	3.5	+ 0.9
b	I can understand the meaning of words	3.2	3.7	+ 0.5
c	I can understand the sentence as a whole through comprehension of grammar and sentence structure	3.6	3.9	+ 0.3
d	I can identify and restore omitted elements to understand a sentence	3.0	3.3	+ 0.3
e	I can understand the author's message written in a language of which I am not a native speaker	3.3	3.6	+ 0.3
f	I can detect difficult passages and understand them	4.2	4.3	+ 0.1
g	I have adequate background knowledge of the Japanese culture to understand its literature	3.3	3.5	+ 0.2

As table 2 shows, the class average values at the end of the semester (worksheet 4) are higher than at the start of the semester (worksheet 1) in all items, which implies that many of the participants believed that their Japanese reading comprehension had improved over the semester.

That said, it must be also stated that 6 students had in fact lowered their evaluation scores for several items. To give some examples, Student A who assigned 3 points to d) at the start of the semester lowered this score to 2 at the end of the semester, while Student B assigned 5 points to f) at the start and 4 points at the end of the semester. The reasons for this decrease in self-evaluation remain unclear because no follow-up interview or questionnaire was carried out with individual students after the semester. Nevertheless, it can be presumed to be a result of these students reconsidering their own Japanese proficiency and learning approach through attending lessons, preparing for lessons, and creating the portfolio as a part of this course.

When asked what types of text they would be interested in for future reading, students named a variety of written works including technical books, newspaper articles, novels and fairy tales, thus reflecting their personal interests as well as plans for a thesis topic. As for goals for further learning, some students mentioned specific learning topics such as Kanji or vocabulary, whilst others referred to more general learning approaches

(for example “to continue reading in Japanese”, “to maintain motivation” and “to invest more time in learning than the others”). These responses confirm that individual students were capable of objectively assessing their present learning status.

6 Observations on the Portfolio Approach

So far, we have presented the results from a new teaching approach by using portfolios in reading comprehension lessons in the Department of Japanese Studies at Hamburg University. Keeping these results in mind, in this section we will move on to discuss reflections from the perspective of both students and teachers and summarise the achievements gained from our portfolio approach.

First, from the students’ perspective, it must be mentioned that one notable achievement is the establishment of a learning process: that is, keeping records of learning objectives, learning methods and problems encountered over a semester, followed by a review thereof at the end of the semester in order to identify weaknesses and further challenges. The introduction of portfolios has positively affected the students’ approach to lessons as well: instead of attending the class without a clear objective, with the help of a portfolio students have formed a clear vision of their weak points as well as learning difficulties experienced during the preparation of the presentation and analysed themselves from an objective point of view, which eventually enabled them to identify goals for further learning. Considering these effects, it seems natural to conclude that the portfolio has proved to be an effective tool to encourage an autonomous learning. In addition, remarks from students related to the other members of the class, such as “often, everybody in the class made the same mistake” and “the entire class encountered difficulty in the same part”, prove that portfolios enabled students to make observations from a broader point of view, reflecting on the class as a whole.

As a major accomplishment on the teaching side, we must point out that portfolios have enabled close observations of students on a personal level, for instance, focusing on individual students’ learning approach or perception of Japanese competence. In conventional lessons, our assessment of students tends to be based on comparisons between students on their relative performance in presentations, remarks made in the class and participation in discussions, whereas the implementation of portfolios has enabled us to grasp the learning progress of individual students. Moreover, there is little doubt that compiling these records from the students into a class summary will provide invaluable help in developing future syllabi or teaching approaches. Judging from the portfolio-based self-evaluations collected from students, we had assumed that the areas of ability that re-

quired particular improvement were the knowledge of Kanji and reading comprehension of text that features omissions. However, the worksheets used during the Q&A sessions with the TA in the preparatory stage of the presentation have highlighted additional areas that were equally in need of improvement, such as transcription of spoken language, grammatical elements that are peculiar to written language or literary Japanese, knowledge of idiomatic phrases, and developing techniques to research words that cannot be found in dictionaries. Specific problems or weaknesses that are common to students in general and are discovered throughout the use of a portfolio can greatly aid the design of future teaching programmes, for example in setting goals for lessons, choosing teaching priorities, improving in-class and out-of-class activities, and coordinating with other lectures.

7 Further Challenges

Finally, this section will turn to the remaining issues in our case study of portfolio application and consider further possibilities and challenges.

The first point that needs to be mentioned is that students' strategies, reference materials and tools used with the aim of reading comprehension were not taken into consideration in the framework of our portfolio. Even though it is evident that the portfolio has encouraged students' autonomous learning since it raised awareness about what to pay attention to when reading a text, our programme did not provide an opportunity to examine or discuss which learning strategies, knowledge or abilities had to be used; neither did we sufficiently discuss with students the reliability or validity of different reference materials such as dictionaries or IT based sources. We consider that reviewing observations of these matters would further help to develop students' autonomy in reading comprehension.

Secondly, the fact that we could not allow the sharing of portfolios or feedback from exchange activities in our portfolio framework due to reasons concerning the curriculum brought a major drawback to our case study. Systems using portfolios usually include the sharing of portfolios as a part of the implementation process, specifically, with the aim of sharing opinions and information regarding learning methods and achievements, ultimately motivating autonomous learning among students. Although positive effects of this process have been reported (Ishii, Kumano 2010), it is currently not easily feasible to integrate these activities into the programme, given the limited time of the lesson. One potential solution to this is to consider options using the internet, for instance, combining the portfolio with an e-portfolio to achieve higher efficiency.

The third challenge in this programme is the assessment methodology of portfolios. Ideally, for the assessment of a portfolio, each student's learning

process should be taken into consideration. In so far, however, the methodology as to how to assess submitted portfolios in numerical terms and reflect the outcome in the final grade at the end of the semester is subject to further discussion. It must be also noted that performing an assessment of the portfolio scheme itself is of critical importance for the improvement of the structure and the methodology of the portfolio. While this case study saw an experimental introduction of portfolios in reading comprehension lessons, for further applications of portfolios to more courses, it would be essential to have the present study evaluated by third-party institutions or a teaching personnel so that issues and potential improvements can be identified.

8 Conclusion

This paper presented a case study of portfolios introduced as an instrument to improve students' reading comprehension using a literary work as learning material. As mentioned in the Introduction, some of the students who have participated in this course may carry on reading literary pieces as a research subject for their Bachelor or Master thesis. The curriculum of this course primarily aimed for the improvement of Japanese language ability through reading. Through discussions in class and observations from the paper assignment, students have gained an experience of formulating personal opinions and interpretation of an original, unaltered text in Japanese, which we believe will help them in developing an advanced reading approach. This paper has illustrated the framework of a reading comprehension training in which insights gained from lessons and the compilation of a portfolio help students, who finally describe their own interpretation and analysis of the text gained through these linguistic abilities, to understand a text on the linguistic level. It seems natural to conclude that the positive effect of this training on students – since they have begun to study a text with increased self-awareness and autonomy – is a notable achievement, even if it may not necessarily be of direct relevance to conducting research in Japanese literature. Meanwhile, it can be expected that, incorporating additional activities (such as discussion sessions on text interpretation and portfolio sharing among students) into course planning alongside presentations will contribute to the improvement of students' communication skills, thereby providing further potential in the application of portfolios to reading courses using literary works. We hope to continue this programme in the future with the flexibility to readjust the framework in accordance with the issues discussed above as well as the course conditions that vary from semester to semester (for example number and character of participants, texts used, availability of a TA, or administrative conditions inside and outside of the course).

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Appendix 1

日本語V　文献講読（日本文学）2014年秋学期
浅田次郎『鞿（xie シェ）』

名前：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　　Semester：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

●日本へ留学したことが　　ある　／　ない
●日本語の勉強を始めてから　＿＿＿＿＿年
●この授業を受ける前に、日本語の現代文学を読んだことがありますか。
数字に○をつけてください。読んだことがある人は、どこで何を読みましたか。
1．読んだことがない
2．読んだことがある（どこで：　　何を：　　）

1．授業を始める前の目標

はじめに、日本語の現代文学を読む時の自分のレベルをふり返りましょう。そのあとで、この授業の目標を考えましょう。

（1）日本語の現代文学を読む時、今、自分はどのレベルだと思いますか。1～5の数字に○をつけてください。h～jは自由に書いてください。（ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。）

	質問	（できない）← → （できる）	メモ
a	漢字の読み方がわかる。	1　2　3　4　5	
b	単語の意味がわかる。	1　2　3　4　5	
c	文法や文構造を理解して、文全体の意味がわかる。	1　2　3　4　5	
d	文の中で何が省略されているかがわかり、それを補って内容を理解することができる。	1　2　3　4　5	
e	表現方法が自分の母語と違っていても、作者が伝えたい内容がわかる。	1　2　3　4　5	
f	意味がわからない箇所があった時、自分の方法で調べて理解することができる。	1　2　3　4　5	
g	文学を理解するために必要な日本文化の背景知識が十分にある。	1　2　3　4　5	
h		1　2　3　4　5	
i		1　2　3　4　5	
j		1　2　3　4　5	

目標シート：1/2

日本語V　文献講読（日本文学）2014年秋学期
浅田次郎『鞮（xie シェ）』

名前：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

（2）「（1）」のa～jの中で、この授業を通して特にできるようになりたいことは何ですか。a～jの記号を書いてください。（複数選んでもいいです。）

（3）「（2）」で選んだことができるようになるために、どのようなことをしようと思いますか。努力する内容を具体的に書いてください。（ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。）

目標シート：2/2

Appendix 2

日本語Ⅴ　文献講読（日本文学）2014 年秋学期
浅田次郎『鞏（xie シェ）』

２．発表準備の記録

発表の準備をしてわからなかったことやわかったことなどを整理しましょう。

やり方：

①自分が発表するページをコピーする。

②自分で発表の準備をした時に**わからなかったこと**を書く

②-1：コピーに線（＿＿＿）を引いて、それぞれに数字（1、2、3…）を書く。

②-2：表の左に何がわからなかったかをメモする。→　ＴＡに確認する。

②-3：表の右にわかったことを書く。

③ＴＡに相談して、**「自分の理解が正しくなかった」と気が付いたこと**を書く。

③-1：コピーに線（＿＿＿）を引いて、それぞれにアルファベット（a、b、c…）を書く。

③-2：表の左に正しく理解していなかったことをメモする。

③-3：表の右にわかったことを書く。

※ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。

＜例＞

番号	わからなかったこと 自分の理解が正しくなかったこと	→	TA との相談のあとで わかったこと
1	誰が誰に話したか		山田さん→田中さん
2	「食べられる」：Passiv form?Potential form?		Passiv form
3	文全体の意味・ニュアンス		
4	単語の意味　●●？●●？		
5			
a	漢字の読み方		
b	山田さんが笑った理由		
c	助詞「で」の意味		
d			

日本語V　文献講読（日本文学）2014年秋学期
浅田次郎『獬（xie シェ）』

名前：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　発表：　　ページ、　　行目～　　行目

番号	わからなかったこと 自分の理解が正しくなかったこと →	わかったこと

Appendix 3

日本語V　文献講読（日本文学）2014年秋学期
浅田次郎『鞿（xie シェ）』

名前：[redacted]　　発表：179-184ページ、　7行目～　3行目

番号	わからなかったこと 自分の理解が正しくなかったこと	→ わかったこと
1	「ばんたび」：単語の意味？	万度 = いつも、毎回
2	「恥ずかしく」：副詞？ 何を示す？	恥ずかしくて
3	「快かった」：何/誰が快かった？	鈴子は、管理人が両親みたいに説諭するから、まず恥ずかしくて、そして快い感じがする。
4	「おればだ」：何の形？ おる+は+です？	おる（=いる）+は+です
5	「しっかり者」：強い性格のある人？ 貯金する人？	まじめな人、何かがちゃんとできる人 （例えば、貯金できる）
6	「思いあぐねた末のせりふ」：意味？	思いあぐねた 最後のせりふ せりふ = 言葉、文
a	「まどう」の意味	「まどう」は「惑う」、「迷う」のような意味だけではなく、動詞+まどうというのは「たくさん」、「いっぱいに」のような意味もある
b	「いつだったか」：何を示す？	「言っていたこと」
c	「こうして」：何を示す？	鈴子と管理人の十年の付き合い方：一緒にマンションに暮らすこととか、よく話すこととか
d	漢[redacted]字の読み方	「末」= すえ
e	「ように」の意味	この場合は：ようだ みたいだ

Appendix 4

日本語V　文献講読（日本文学）2014年秋学期
浅田次郎『鞮（xie シェ）』

名前：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

３．発表のふり返り

自分の発表はどうでしたか。思い出して書いてください。（ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。）

発表した日：　　月　　日

（1）発表でよくできたことは何ですか。

（2）発表で難しかったこと、うまくできなかったこと、予定通りできなかったことなどがありますか。また、その原因は何だと思いますか。

（3）発表をして何か気が付いたことがありますか。（自分のこと、クラスの様子など）

Appendix 5

日本語Ⅴ　文献講読（日本文学）秋学期
浅田次郎『斛（xie シェ）』

名前：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿　Semester：＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

4．授業が終わった時の自己評価

「日本語Ⅴ・文献講読」の授業が終わりました。日本語の現代文学を読む時の自分のレベルをふり返りましょう。そのあとで、今後の目標などについて考えましょう。

（1）日本語の現代文学を読む時、今、自分はどのレベルだと思いますか。1〜5の数字に○をつけてください。「1．授業を始める前の目標」の「(1)」で h〜j を書いた人は、それについても答えてください。（ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。）

質問		（できない）←				→ （できる）	メモ
a	漢字の読み方がわかる。	1	2	3	4	5	
b	単語の意味がわかる。	1	2	3	4	5	
c	文法や文構造を理解して、文全体の意味がわかる。	1	2	3	4	5	
d	文の中で何が省略されているかがわかり、それを補って内容を理解することができる。	1	2	3	4	5	
e	表現方法が自分の母語と違っていても、作者が伝えたい内容がわかる。	1	2	3	4	5	
f	意味がわからない箇所があった時、自分の方法で調べて理解することができる。	1	2	3	4	5	
g	文学を理解するために必要な日本文化の背景知識が十分にある。	1	2	3	4	5	
h		1	2	3	4	5	
i		1	2	3	4	5	
j		1	2	3	4	5	

自己評価シート：1/2

Appendix 5

日本語Ⅴ　文献講読（日本文学）秋学期
浅田次郎『獬（xie シェ）』

（2）「1．授業を始める前の目標」の「（2）」を見てください。この授業を通して、そこに書いた項目（a～j）ができるようになったと思いますか。

できるようになったと思う…

まだできていないと思う　…

（3）「1．授業を始める前の目標」の「（3）」を見てください。そこに書いた方法は役に立ちましたか。また、その方法以外に新しい方法が見つかりましたか。（ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。）

（4）これからは日本語の授業がありません。今後、何のためにどんなテキストを読みたいですか。（ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。）

（5）もっと日本語が読めるようになるために、自分に何が必要だと思いますか（ドイツ語で書いてもいいです。）

自己評価シート：2/2

New Steps in Japanese Studies
Kobe University Joint Research
edited by Kazashi Nobuo and Marcella Mariotti

On the Multiple Clause Linkage Structure of Japanese
A Corpus-based Study

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Abstract In this paper, we will describe the distribution of the multiple clause linkage structure within actual spoken and written Japanese. We will examine three Japanese corpora: BCCWJ, CSJ and OCOJ. By identifying distributions of multiple clause linkage structures in corpora of contemporary Japanese (BCCWJ and CSJ), we shed light on what kinds of settings give rise to what type of clause linkage structures through what processes. The dynamic rewriting rule proposed by Kondo (2005) is introduced as a model for the incremental production of multiple clause linkage structures. Some common patterns of such structures occurring in Old Japanese are identified by OCOJ and compared to patterns in BCCWJ and CSJ.

Keywords Multiple Clause Linkage Structure. CSJ. BCCWJ. OCOJ. Incremental Production.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Multiple Clause Linkage Structure in Japanese

In Japanese sentences, subordinate and coordinate clauses are marked by non-final predicates in isolation or predicates of various inflections followed by conjunctive particles. Clauses immediately following these may be main, subordinate, or non-final coordinate clauses. A structure in which a clause is grammatically linked to another is called a clause linkage structure (Van Valin 1984; Haiman, Thompson 1993; Hasegawa 1996).

The clause linkage structure is one of the basic sentence structures that are generally observed in various languages. What is characteristic of the clause linkage structure in Japanese (and perhaps SOV languages in general) is that sometimes extremely long clause chains are formed by the concatenation of clauses using a surprising variety of clause linkage markers.[1] An example of a long clause linkage structure that was observed in the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese is given in (1).[2] The symbol "/" indicates a boundary between linked clauses.

1. *watashi ga sundeita tokoro wa danchi: no nikai deshite* / (F *e:to*) *sono mae wa ōkina* (F *e:*) *Meiji: dōro ga hashitte itandesu keredomo* / *danchi to dōro no aida niwa kō danchi no niwa mitaina kanjide* / (F *e:to*) *dōro no temae ni ki ga takusan haete ita node* / (F *e:to*) (F *ma*) *tori ga* (D *tsutsu*) *tobidashita to shitemo* / *sugu niwa dōro ni denaide* / *sono: ki* (D *n*) (D *ki*) *ki no atari ni hikkakatterukana: toyū* (F *e:*) *kanji deshita node* / *mazu nikai kara kō ki o ki no dono hen ni iruka toyū no o atari tsukete* / *atari o tukeru toyū ka* (F *ma:*) / *sagashite mite* / *sugu ni wa mitsukaranakatta node / shōganai* (D *gu*) *node* / (D *susu*) *sugu ni soto ni tobidashimashite* (CSJ:S02M0076)

1 To ask whether clauses concatenated in this way are in a relation of subordination ([+ dependent] and [+embedded]) or coordination ([-dependent] and [-embedded]) is to oversimplify, especially in the case of Japanese speech. The point is difficult to determine solely on the basis of predicate morphology since, in Japanese in general, the clause linkages |te| and |cont.| (see table 2 and discussion) can be used for either coordination or subordination. Supra-segmental factors have been shown to play a role in resolving the syntactic ambiguity of clause linkages in speech (Tyler 2012). In Japanese speech, some otherwise ambiguous linkages interpreted as coordinating can be deprived of their logical semantics. Yuasa and Sadock (2002, 92) group *te*-clause linkages that morphologically appear to be embedded but are logically independent under the category of 'pseudo-subordination'. Tsunoda (2013, 22) applies Olson's (1981) term 'co-subordination' to the type of *te*-clause linkages that appear in many of our examples here. The distribution of multiple clause linkage structures at least in part involves the question of how the concatenation of independent clauses differs from the parataxis of sentences.

2 Words enclosed in (F) indicate filled pauses and words enclosed in (D) indicate word fragments. A colon ':' indicates an elongated vowel. A final annotation such as (CSJ:S02M0076) indicates talk-ID in the corpus.

> Where I used to live was the second floor of an apartment, / and in front of that ran the great Meiji Avenue, / but taking the form of, like, this kind of apartment garden between the apartment and the street, / a lot of trees were growing on this side of the street, / so it was like, well, even if the bird rushed out from the room, / it would not go to the street directly, / but it must get hung up somewhere around the trees, / so at first from the second floor, approximating which tree where among the trees the bird might be, / or making an approximation of it, well, / I tried to look for it, / but I couldn't find it right away, / so there was nothing else for it, / so I went rushing out straightaway.

(1) is a part of a narrative describing an episode in which the speaker's bird had flown away and he tried to find it. The speaker enumerates a set of background conditions informing his choice of action and then describes a series of events, but there is not a single break in the speech marked by a finite sentence-final form. Instead, by repeatedly linking various clauses, the speaker produces an utterance that is potentially indefinitely long. Any structure containing more than one linkage of this type is referred to as a 'multiple clause linkage structure' in this paper.

1.2 Research Questions

Just as indefinitely long sentences can be generated by the recursive embedding of complement clauses, there is no limit to the length of sentences produced by the application of clause linkage. While from the point of view of prescriptive grammar extremely long clause linkage structures are to be avoided, very long utterances with multiple clause linkage structures do appear in spoken Japanese, as is seen in (1). Nevertheless, there has not been any research that quantitatively investigates and describes the extent to which this phenomenon can actually be found in different registers of Japanese.

Thus, this paper will quantitatively and qualitatively describe the multiple clause linkage structure in contemporary spoken and written Japanese. The following two research questions are posed:

> What types of clauses are connected to form the multiple clause linkage structure and in what order?
>
> What factors bear on the variable use of the multiple clause linkage structure?

In this paper, we describe the distribution of the multiple clause linkage

structure within actual spoken and written Japanese using corpora. In section 2 we introduce two large-scale corpora of contemporary spoken and written Japanese, the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese and the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese. Section 3 quantitatively examines the distribution of clause boundaries appearing in the two corpora. In section 4 we discuss the factors influencing the distribution of the multiple clause linkage structure in various registers and consider the proliferation of these structures in Early Middle Japanese prose.[3] Then, we examine the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese and discuss whether the same tendencies can be found between contemporary and Old Japanese.[4] Finally, we present some data from the late Meiji era that suggest that the convention of contemporary formal writing calling for avoidance of the multiple clause linkage structure has been established only very recently.

2 Data

2.1 Corpora: CSJ and BCCWJ

As seen in (1), the multiple clause linkage structure can appear in a situation where a single speaker continuously holds the floor, talking in a spontaneous manner. In spoken Japanese in general, monologues contain more multiple clause linkage structures than dialogues. This paper primarily uses the audio data of monologues compiled in the Corpus of Spontaneous Japanese (CSJ), which has more monologues than other Japanese corpora, as its object of analysis.

The CSJ is a corpus that contains 651 hours and 7.52 million words of spontaneous speech. The audio data can be classified into two categories: Academic Presentation Speech (APS) and Simulated Public Speaking (SPS). The APS is composed of live recordings of academic presentations in various academic societies. The SPS contains general speeches and comments by laypeople on everyday topics, speaking before small audiences. A relatively formal speaking style is observed in the APS, while a casual speaking style is observed in the SPS. Most monologues in the APS and the SPS are 10-15 minutes long (NINJAL 2006).

The monologues used for this study are from the richly annotated subcorpus called CSJ-Core, which takes 18.8 hours of data from APS and 19.9 hours from SPS. The audio is transcribed and analysed morphologically, and major clause boundaries are annotated with clause boundary labels. In this paper, units ending with an explicit grammatical form to show the

3 Early Middle Japanese is the language of 9th to 12th century Japan.

4 Old Japanese is the language of 7th and 8th century Japan.

point of completion of an utterance are identified as sentences, and labeled with |EOS| ('End Of Sentence'), as we will see in section 2.2.

The written language data that we compare with the monologues are extracted from the Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ). The BCCWJ is a balanced corpus of written Japanese that contains 100 million words in extracts randomly sampled from a wide variety of texts. Designed to include many registers such as books, magazines, newspapers, white papers, laws, verses, textbooks, and Internet documents, the BCCWJ makes it possible to look into what styles of written language occur in what type of registers (Maekawa et al. 2014).

The written samples we analyse are sentences taken from the richly annotated BCCWJ-Core out of the three registers of Books, Magazines and Newspapers. The text is analysed morphologically by an electronic dictionary, the *UniDic*, and sentence boundaries have been assigned in the process. In this paper, only the lines that end with the punctuation marks ('。'; '?'; '!') were extracted and recognised as sentences.

Table 1 shows the size of the data sets that are the object of analysis. Here, speech and writing are referred to as channels, while APS and SPS (from the CSJ), and Books, Magazines, and Newspapers (from the BCCWJ) are referred to as registers. The numbers of words are measured on the basis of an analytical unit designated in the corpus as the "Short Unit Word", which approximates the level at which entries in traditional Japanese dictionaries are identified (Maekawa et al. 2014).

Table 1. Data Statistics

Corpus	Registers	Files	Sentences	Words
CSJ (spoken)	APS	70	5,389	191,591
	SPS	107	4,494	164,096
BCCWJ (written)	Books	83	8,780	204,050
	Magazines	86	9,342	202,268
	Newspapers	340	11,898	308,504

2.2 Clause Boundary Labels

In order to analyse the form and distribution of clause linkage structures, it is necessary to know what sorts of clauses appear in the text and the order in which they are connected. As a first step, we associate the morphology of rightmost clause boundaries with Clause Boundary Labels (CBLs). At the point at which we began our investigation, CBLs identifying 49 types of clause boundaries had already been annotated to the CSJ. As for the BCCWJ, a clause boundary analysis was newly conducted, using a Clause Boundary Analysis Program (CBAP) that detects rightmost clause boundaries and annotates 147 varieties of CBL (Maruyama et al. 2004).

Examples of texts annotated with CBLs are shown below. (2) is an example from SPS, and (3) is taken from Newspapers. The CBLs are assigned various names, such as |EOS|, |ga|, |node|, and so on, depending on the type of clause boundary identified. The CBLs involved in forming multiple clause linkage structures are fully listed in table 2 below.

2. *rukura no mura nandesuga* |ga| / *hikōjō wa hontō ni yama no naka ni arimashite* |te| / *shikamo hikōjō ga jarimichi toyū tokoro deshita node* |node| / *jissai ni chakuriku suru toki wa hontō ni shinzō ga tomarisōni nattandesu keredomo* |keredomo| / (F *e*) *tsuite mitara* |tara| / *igai ni sōitta shukuhaku shisetsu nado de* (F *e:*) *nigiwatta chīsana mura deshita* |EOS|/ (CSJ:S01F0151)
   When it comes to the village Lukla, / the airport really being located in the deep mountains, / and moreover, because it was a situation where the airport was gravel-paved, / when we actually touched ground my heart really almost stopped, / but once we arrived there, / to our surprise, we found that it was a small village flourishing with that sort of hotel and such. /
3. *isuraeru kara no hōdō ni yoruto* |to| / *dōkoku saidai no toshi teruabibu de jūgonichi yoru paresuchina jichiku gaza kara no isuraeru gun tettai to yudaya jin nyūshokuchi tekkyo o motomeru* |adnominal| / *shūkai ga hirakare* |continuation| / *jūgoman nin ijō ga sanka shita.* |EOS| / *saidai yatō no rōdōtō nado no yobikake ni yoru* |adnominal| / *mono de* |de| / n*isen'nen aki ni paresuchina funsō ga gekika shite irai* |irai| */ saidai no kibo to natta.* |EOS| / (BCCWJ:PN4f_00018)
   According to the report from Israel, / on the night of the 15th there was a gathering in Tel Aviv, the largest city in Israel, / to demand the withdrawal of Israel army and removal of Jewish settlement from the Palestinian Territory of Gaza, / and more than 150 thousand people participated. / It was an event / promoted by the largest opposition party, the Labour Party, / and was the biggest gathering since / the Palestinian conflict intensified in the autumn of 2000. /

In order to compare the results of the clause boundary analyses from the two corpora, we will limit the types of clause boundaries to high frequency clause-linking items common to both corpora. Thus, this paper took the CBLs shown in table 2 as marking the main clause boundaries that appear in multiple clause linkage structures and used them as the basis of comparison.

Table 2. Clause Boundary Labels Used in Multiple Clause Linkage

Types	Clause Boundary Labels
EOS	EOS
Coordinate	ga, keredomo, keredo, kedomo, kedo, shi
Reason	kara, node
Conditional	tara, taraba, nara, naraba, to, reba
Misc.	cont. (continuation), de, te, quote, toyu

The continuation CBL indicates the rightmost boundary of a clause ending with the conjunctive form of a predicate. The *de* CBL indicates the rightmost boundary of a clause ending with a non-finite form of the copula *da*. Furthermore, although the *toyu* CBL does not indicate clause-linking morphology but rather indicates a special kind of complementizer at the rightmost boundary of a relative clause, *toyu* CBLs have been included in the comparison because they appear to participate in a recurring pattern with clause-linking CBLs (discussed in detail in § 3.4).

Using the CBLs extracted from CSJ and BCCWJ, we conducted an analysis of their quantitative distributions and combinations in multiple clause linkage structures. The following section examines (1) the frequency of clause boundaries across different registers, (2) the number of clause linkages per sentence, (3) frequently occurring patterns of clause linkage, and (4) 'highly complex clause linkage structures'.

3 Analyses

3.1 The Frequencies of Clause Boundaries across Registers

The first analysis concerns the types of clause boundaries and how frequently they appear within each register. Tokens for each type of CBL that appeared in each register were totalled, and the totals for each were normalised to the rate of instances per 200,000 words per register. Table 3 shows the results.

Table 3. Frequencies of Clause Boundaries (per 200,000 words)

	CBL	APS	SPS	Books	Magazines	Newspapers
EOS	EOS	5,624	5,476	8,606	9,237	7,713
Coordinate	*Ga*	1,027	672	716	552	496
	Keredomo	382	800	14	2	1
	Kedomo	108	328	0	0	0
	Keredo	8	37	15	26	4
	Kedo	43	584	26	62	10
	Shi	54	230	108	90	21
Reason	*Kara*	78	261	307	185	69
	Node	310	735	150	164	40
Conditional	*tara(ba)*	60	303	184	172	29
	To	546	691	438	365	265
	nara(ba)	3	9	42	53	11
	Reba	153	225	450	288	178
Misc.	Continuation	556	277	1,908	1,837	2,023
	De	347	769	448	408	408
	Te	2,884	3,903	2,122	1,625	1,080
	Quote	1,006	1,577	1,130	732	881
	Toyu	1,454	1,163	445	267	150
Total		14,645	18,038	17,110	16,065	13,379

First, from the total number of clause boundaries in the CSJ, we see that there were more instances of clause boundaries in SPS (18,038) than in APS (14,645). On the one hand, since highly spontaneous speaking style (as characterised by factors other than clause linkage) is observed more in SPS than APS, the tendency for non-final clause boundaries (and multiple clause linkage structures) to appear more frequently in SPS can be interpreted as being correlated to highly spontaneous speech. In particular, among the clause boundary types that are frequently used in multiple clause linkage structures, SPS has 2 to 13 times more frequent instances than APS of the following types: *keredomo*, *shi*, *kara*, *node*, *tara*, and *de*-clauses. On the other hand, *ga*-clauses and continuation clauses appear 1.5 to 2 times more frequently in APS. This shows that these types of clauses are preferable in formal speaking styles.

From the total number of clause boundaries in the BCCWJ, we see that there were 13,379 in Newspapers, 16,065 in Magazines, and 17,110 in Books. Taking the fact that sentence boundaries (EOS) are fewer in Newspapers (7,713) – and thus that sentences in Newspapers are longer – than those in the other written registers, together with the fact that the total number of clause boundaries is also fewer in Newspapers than in other written registers, constructions other than clause linkage are clearly favored to extend the content of sentences in Newspapers. We surmise that what allows newspapers to have longer sentences (among written regis-

ters) without using proportionately many clause linkage structures is their tendency to employ relatively saturated argument structures filled with complex noun phrases. The highest number of continuation clauses among the three registers is found in Newspapers, which can be understood as a characteristic of the formal writing style.

When CSJ and BCCWJ are compared, the number of EOS is far smaller in CSJ, indicating that the average sentence length is greater in speech than in writing. Clause linkage also appears more often in spoken language than it does in written language. A comparison of the conjunctive forms across CSJ and BCCWJ shows that *keredomo*-clauses and *te*-clause are more frequent in the spoken language while continuation clauses are more frequent in the written language. This shows that there is a difference between the written and spoken language in their preference for the conjunctive forms creating clause linkage structures.

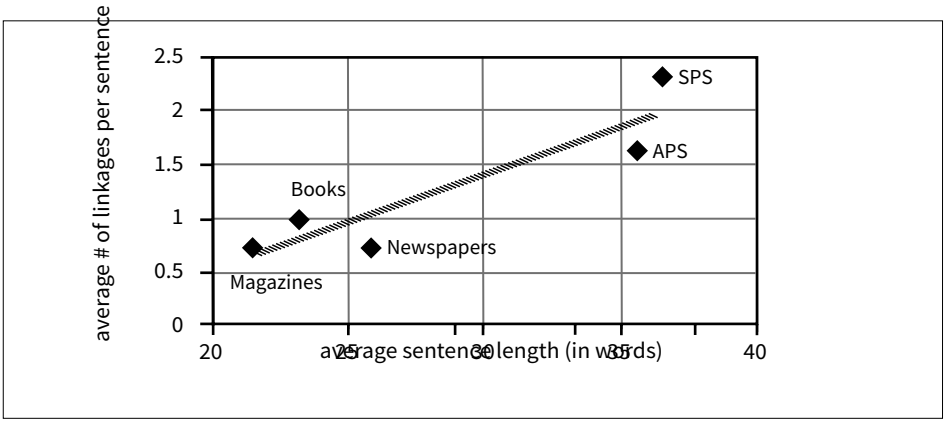

Figure 1. Average Sentence Length and Number of Clause Linkages

Generated from the statistics in table 3, figure 1 compares the average number of non-finite clause linkages with the average sentence length for each register. On average, as noted above, the registers in the speech channel show much longer sentences than those in the writing channel. With the exception of Newspapers, there is a clear trend for the number of clause linkages to increase in direct proportion to sentence length, but sentence length is obviously not the only factor. While the average number of linkages is well above the trend for the most casual-style register (SPS), the most formal register in the written channel (Newspapers) and the most formal register in the spoken channel (APS) both fall below the mean. We will discuss the effects that differences in channel and style have on the distribution of multiple clause linkage structures in more detail in section 4.

3.2 The Number of Sentences in Registers by Complexity

The second analysis groups sentences based on the number of CBLs in each (i.e. their complexity) and compares the frequency of instances from each group across registers. The number of CBLs for each register was normalised to the number of instances per 10,000 sentences. Figure 2 shows the results. The horizontal axis shows the complexity of the sentences of a given group; the vertical axis shows the frequency of instances for each group.

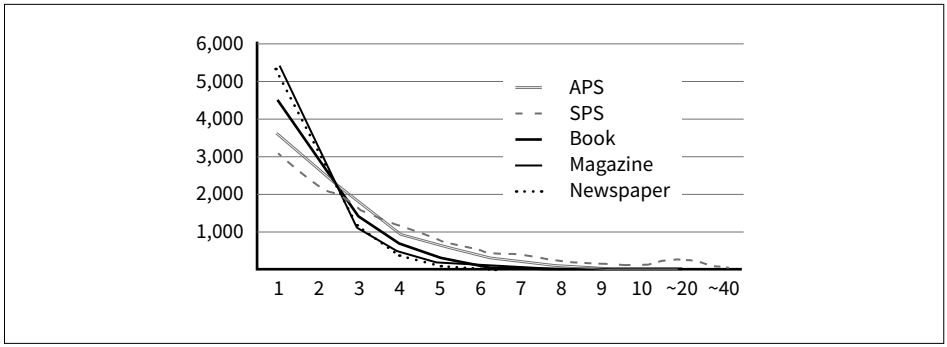

Figure 2. Number of Sentences in Registers by Complexity (out of 10,000 sentences)

figure 2 shows that the curves of the plots for APS and SPS (the CSJ registers) are clearly more gently sloped than those for the remaining registers from the BCCWJ. The data for Magazines and Newspapers have a nearly identical locus, where for each of these approximately 5,300 out of 10,000 sentences are simple sentences that do not contain a clause boundary except for the EOS. Sentences in the spoken language that only had EOS clause boundaries numbered approximately 3,200 for APS and 2,600 for SPS. In figure 2, the frequency of instances for written and spoken language is reversed at the point where the number of clause boundaries found in a sentence rises to 3. At subsequent values, the graph shows a long tail shape, especially for SPS. Based on this distribution, we can see that very long multiple clause linkage structures occur particularly often in casual, spontaneous speaking style. We will refer to structures of this type as ‘highly complex clause linkage structures’ (discussed in detail in § 3.4).

3.3 Frequently Occurring Patterns of Clause Linkage

Now we will examine the linkage pattern of the clause boundaries. In both written and spoken language, what types of clauses are connected and in what order?

Clause linkage patterns can be represented as ordered sets of non-final clause-linking CBLs. Accordingly, examples (2) and (3) have, respectively, the following types of clause linkage pattern:

(2') *ga* _ *te* _ *node* _ *keredomo* _ *tara* _ EOS

(3') *to* _ cont. _ EOS *de* _ EOS

Below we will look at clause linkage patterns that occur with the greatest frequency. The patterns of clause linkage found in each register were totalled and the percentages of these appearances over the total number of sentences were calculated. Tables 4 and 5 show the 10 top-ranking items in each register.

Table 4. Frequent Clause Linkage Patterns (CSJ)

APS		SPS	
32.0%	EOS	26.2%	EOS
9.1%	*te* _ EOS	5.9%	*te* _ EOS
3.8%	*toyu* _ EOS	3.6%	quote _ EOS
3.3%	*ga* _ EOS	1.8%	*toyu* _ EOS
2.7%	quote _ EOS	1.7%	*te* _ quote _ EOS
2.2%	*te* _ *te* _ EOS	1.6%	*de* _ EOS
1.9%	verb _ EOS	1.4%	*keredomo* _ EOS
1.5%	*te* _ *toyu* _ EOS	1.4%	*to* _ EOS
1.5%	*de* _ EOS	1.4%	*te* _ *te* _ EOS
1.5%	*te* _ quote _ EOS	1.2%	*ga* _ EOS

Table 5. Frequent Clause Linkage Patterns (BCCWJ)

Books		Magazines		Newspapers	
45.1%	EOS	53.7%	EOS	52.2%	EOS
7.8%	*te* _ EOS	7.8%	cont. _ EOS	11.5%	cont. _ EOS
6.4%	cont. _ EOS	6.3%	*te* _ EOS	5.6%	*te* _ EOS
3.5%	quote _ EOS	2.9%	quote _ EOS	3.6%	quote _ EOS
2.4%	*ga* _ EOS	2.4%	*ga* _ EOS	2.7%	*ga* _ EOS
1.8%	*to* _ EOS	2.0%	*de* _ EOS	2.6%	*de* _ EOS
1.8%	*de* _ EOS	1.7%	*to* _ EOS	1.4%	*to* _ EOS
1.6%	*reba* _ EOS	1.3%	*te* _ cont. _ EOS	1.2%	cont. _ cont. _ EOS
1.2%	*toyu* _ EOS	1.3%	*reba* _ EOS	1.1%	cont. _ *te* _ EOS
1.2%	*kara* _ EOS	1.0%	*toyu* _ EOS	1.0%	*te* _ cont. _ EOS

As we have seen in figure 1, the most frequent clause linkage pattern for all registers was the simplex sentence, with no clause boundary marker other than EOS. This includes not only very short simple sentences or fragmentary sentences (like those in (4)), but also relatively long sentences (like those in (5)).

4. a) *kore de owarimasu* |EOS| / (CSJ:S01F0050)
   We will end here. /
   b) *JRBungoTakedaekikaratohonanafun.*|EOS|/(BCCWJ:PM41_00182)
   It's 7 minutes on foot from the JR Bungo Takeda station. /

5. a) *mekishiko jin to shite wa son'na mazushī katainaka no machi yori mo motto ōbei nami ni hattatsu shita rizōtochi ya mekishiko shitī no naito raifu o an'nai shitakatta yō deshita* |EOS| / (CSJ:S00F0173)
   It seemed that, as a Mexican, he would have preferred to show me a resort area developed on a par with Western countries, or the nightlife in Mexico City, rather than such an impoverished town in the hinterlands. /
   b) *kugatsu no mekishiko kankun no sekai bōeki kikan* (WTO) *kakuryō kaigi no ketsuretsu ikō nikokukan kōshō ya chiiki jiyū bōeki kyōtei nado daitai kyōtei eno ugoki ga tsuyomatteiru* |EOS| / (BCCWJ:PN3b_00007)
   Since the breakdown of the WTO Ministerial meeting at Cancun, Mexico in September, the movement toward alternate agreements such as bilateral negotiations or regional FTAs is becoming stronger. /

Looking at items ranked 2nd place and lower in tables 4 and 5, we see that the '*te* _ EOS' pattern is ranked at 2nd or 3rd place for all the registers in both written and spoken language. This combination is likely the most basic simple clause linkage pattern. Furthermore, the three written registers share the following patterns ranked higher than 7th place: 'cont._ EOS', 'quote _ EOS', '*ga* _ EOS', '*de* _ EOS', and '*to* _ EOS'. We consider these patterns to be the basic clause linkage structures for the written language in general.

3.4 The Distribution of Highly Complex Clause Linkage Structures

All the examples of common clause linkage patterns that we have seen so far consist of fairly small sets of clause linkages forming rather simple structures. The more complex a clause linkage structure becomes, the more diversified its patterns become, so that these results do not appear high up in the order of frequency.

For each of the registers we analysed, the number of sentences that have more than 6 clause boundaries (our criterion to identify sentences with highly complex clause linkage structures) was normalised to the number of sentences per 10,000 sentences and totalled (which corresponds to the right half of figure 1). The complementizer *toyu* was also counted for this study. table 6 shows the results.

A comparison of the written and spoken language reveals that highly complex clause linkage structures occur more often in spoken language.

In particular, sentences with more than 11 clause boundaries are far more frequent in SPS than in other registers. The sentence with the most complex clause linkage structure has 34 linked clauses (this appears in SPS). Table 6 shows that highly complex clause linkage structures appear most frequently in casual speaking style.

Table 6. Number of Sentences in Registers by Complexity (2)

	x6	x7	x8	x9	x10	x20	x40
APS	321	186	95	41	17	37	0
SPS	465	367	185	116	78	220	11
Books	95	49	10	10	5	0	0
Magazines	54	16	5	3	2	1	0
Newspapers	35	4	2	2	0	1	0

Below, a highly complex clause linkage pattern is picked out and examined. Examples of a clause linkage pattern found in APS are shown in (6). The pattern was '*ga* _ *te* _ *te* _ *toyu* _ EOS' (complexity measure = 6).

6. a) *de: roku kyū jūni to* (D *yu*) *arimasu ga* |ga| / (F *e:*) *kore wa kono sūchi wa hikui hō no fukugō'on no mottomo takai shūhasū seibun o arawashite mashite* |te| / (F *ma:*) *sūchi ga fueru ni shitagatte* |te| / *baion seibun no kosū ga fueru toyū* |toyu| / *koto ni natte imasu* |EOS| / (CSJ:A01M0056)
   Now, here are (examples) six, nine, and twelve, / but as for these, their values show the highest frequency components of the lower compound tones, / and as the values increase, / the situation is that / the number of individual overtone components also increases. /
   b) *kore wa futatsu no bunsetsu no aida no kakariyasusa o motomeru tame no shuhō nanodesu ga* |ga| / (F *e:*) *omona tokuchō toshite* |te| / *bunpō to hyūrisutikku o mochiite* |te| / *kanō na kakari saki o sēgen suru toyū* |toyu| / *gihō o mochiite imasu* |EOS| / (CSJ:A03M0010)
   This is a method to calculate the degree of dependency between two *bunsetsu* phrases, / and as its main feature, it uses a technique in which, / using grammar and heuristics, / it restricts the possible targets for dependency. /

Including the two sentences in (6), the same clause linkage pattern was found in eight sentences in the APS and in five sentences in the SPS. It is conceivable that there are particular clause linkage patterns that are used as syntactic frames to produce ongoing speech, especially in the register of formal speaking style in academic presentations. Whether the distribution of this specific pattern rises to the level of statistical significance is a question we set aside for further research.

4 Discussion

4.1 Why does the Multiple Clause Linkage Structure occur?

Prompted by the quantitative analysis that was conducted in the preceding section, some thought should be given to the question of why the multiple clause linkage structure occurs more often in spoken language than it does in written language, and most often in spontaneous speech. In this section we will discuss this issue.

First, comparisons both within the channel of writing and within the channel of speech show that the multiple clause linkage structure appears much more frequently in casual style than it does in formal style. The effects of formality suggest that variability in the planning, monitoring and repair that go into the production of a communicative act may be a factor in the use of multiple clause structures. The register of APS is more likely to contain carefully prepared material than is the register of SPS, spontaneous casual-style monologue. There are a greater expectation of linguistic adeptness and an accordingly greater cost associated with error, so planning and self-monitoring take a high priority and repairs are avoided. Similar considerations go into writing and editing in the register of Newspapers (dedicated in large part to presenting objective fact) to a greater degree, on average, than in Books and Magazines, which include more writing for entertainment. Variability in patterns of discourse correlates with change in the level of formality at least in part due to these basic factors. We will address why this is manifested specifically in differences in the frequency of multiple clause structures in the discussion later in this section.

Comparing these two channels, we see a tendency for the multiple clause linkage structure to appear more often in speech than in writing. This is conceivably attributable to differences in the same set of basic factors: planning, monitoring and repair. As for the great range of difference in tendencies across registers, we surmise that the most crucial factor is to be found in the requirements of the speech event of casual-style monologue.

The reasoning with regard to speech is as follows: continuous speech in a conversational setting involves the simultaneous processing of information, syntax, phonology and articulation (or “incremental production” [Levelt 1989, 25]), which puts limits on the degree to which planning and self-monitoring can be carried out. Furthermore, incremental production requires that repairs be effected within the flow of speech. However, the conversational setting allows the speaker to 1) monitor the listener, 2) receive and respond to feedback, and 3) use suprasegmental resources, kinesics and other affective resources to supplement vocabulary and syntax. If the speaker detects a failure in the communicative process, the speech situation allows repairs in the flow of speech to be made as necessary with

little or no cost: disfluencies (Cutler 1982; Levelt 1989; Gilquin, De Cock 2013) are a natural part of speech. In addition, the fact that speaker and listener share the same temporal and spatial location allows a speaker to assume a great deal about common knowledge and orientation. The listener is expected to 1) cooperate by accommodating errors and presuppositions, 2) actively search for relevance or steps of inference when information is presented without logical connectives, and 3) give constant feedback about attention and comprehension. Refusal to cooperate in the production of a speech event can trigger implicatures or incur great social costs. Add to this the fact that in a casual-style monologue a speaker is expected to 1) hold the floor for an extended period of time and 2) exhibit cultural and linguistic adeptness. For the question we are addressing, these are the most relevant specific factors.

The factors in the speech situation manifest themselves in the lexis and the syntax of the texts produced in speech and the multiple clause linkage structure is one such manifestation. Restrictions on planning increase the difficulty of ordering the presentation of information and selecting appropriate logical connectives, but the cooperation of the listener can be enlisted to accommodate a lack of overt logical connection and seek relevance in the discourse. In such a case, the discourse could just as well be presented as a series of finite sentences without any connectives (a format which, for convenience, we will call 'parataxis'). However, in face to face interaction, the sentence-final pitch lowering and pause that typically accompany finite sentence boundaries can be interpreted as a turn-taking cue or can trigger other implicatures, while the nature of monologue requires the speaker to skilfully hold the floor and actively advance the exposition of ideas. One solution is the use of multiple clause linkage structures, frequently including semantically under specified clause boundary morphology. In fact, it has been shown that in the SPS, filled pauses (in general, linguistic devices often used to gain time for macro-planning during extended turns) are longer if they follow coordinating clause linkages (Watanabe et al. 2015) and shorter if they follow EOS and adjunct clause linkages. We take this as indirect indication that the multiple clause linkage structure is used as a floor-holding device in spontaneous monologues.

To illustrate with some concrete data, consider the first few clauses of example (1) reproduced below:

7. *watashi ga sundeita tokoro wa danchi: no nikai deshite* |te| / (F *e:to*) *sono mae wa ōkina* (F *e:*) *Meiji: dōro ga hashitte itandesu keredomo* |keredomo| / *danchi to dōro no aida niwa kō danchi no niwa mitaina kanjide* |de| / (F *e:to*) *dōro no temae ni ki ga takusan haete ita node* |node| / (F *e:to*) (F *ma*) *tori ga* (D *tsutsu*) *tobidashita to shitemo* |temo| / … (CSJ:S02M0076)

> Where I used to live was the second floor of an apartment, / and in front of that ran the great Meiji Avenue, / but taking the form of, like, this kind of apartment garden between the apartment and the street, / a lot of trees were growing on this side of the street, / so it was like, well, even if the bird rushed out of the room /…

The first few lines of the narrative take the following abstract form: *topic + background information* |te| *background information* |keredomo| *topic +* [*manner adjunct* |de|] *background information* |node| [*hypothetical condition* |temo|]… Clause boundary *te* is syntactically coordinating and in (7) it links two clauses that each give background information and are logically independent of each other (although the scope of the initial topic appears to extend over both of these clauses). While *te* (with flat intonation and reduced vowel) can be used to set up a realis condition (such as logical condition, causal or temporal priority, etc.) or to form manner adjuncts, it is not used as a logical connective or adjunct connective here. The clause boundary *keredomo*, which is syntactically coordinating and normally used to mark a concessive relationship with a following clause, ends the second clause, but it too is not used as a logical connective here. Instead, it links to another (complex) topic/comment clause containing yet more background information. A subordinate clause with the clause boundary *de,* which modifies the predicate *haete ita* (were growing), immediately follows the third clause's topic *danchi to dōro no aida niwa* (as for in between the apartment and the avenue). The clause that this predicate heads has an unambiguous coordinating clause boundary *node* that is used as a logical connective ('so') to link to a clause embedding a hypothetical concessive condition.

In short, the first three clauses are independent of each other, linked with semantically underspecified clause boundary morphology – which is not used to indicate any logical connection – but all mutually relevant in setting a scene in a narrative. To enumerate background circumstances in conversation, parataxis is sometimes used together with a pattern of rising final intonation and vowel elongation (similar to that used in reading off items in a list). But the non-finite nature of the clause boundaries *te* and *keredomo* that we see at the beginning of (7) is particularly well-suited for monologue because 1) the use of clause linkage strongly implies relevance between clauses, and 2) the nonfinite nature of the linkages helps the speaker hold the floor by signaling that the speech is not finished.

Let us contrast this to formal writing styles, where clause linkage of the type seen in (7) appears much less frequently and finite sentences are often overtly marked with initial conjunctive expressions that specify the relation with the preceding sentence. Why do we not find large numbers of sentences with underspecified non-finite clauses in formal writing? Writing has none of the online time constraints imposed by incremental production

in speech. There is time to plan and self-monitor. Furthermore, neither errors nor repairs can be made in the flow of writing without cost. Moreover, there is no opportunity to monitor the reader for comprehension and attention and little basis for assuming shared knowledge and orientation, so writing needs to be organised to explicitly set out presuppositions and to overtly mark logical steps and relevance. The reader can give no feedback and faces no immediate social cost for refusing to cooperate. This sets a sharp limit on the degree to which a writer can expect a reader to accommodate loose composition, accordingly making coherence and cohesion a necessity, at least in writing for purposes other than entertainment. But most importantly, in writing there is no need to signal that an utterance is not complete in order to gain time to process a subsequent utterance, because holding the floor is not an issue.

So with regard to writing for practical purposes, the combination of factors outlined above imposes the need for an efficient order of exposition, explicit steps of inference and the avoidance of ambiguity. With regard to the last point, note that the use of simple finite clauses 1) clarifies the scope of topics, quantification, negation, and modality, and 2) limits the candidates for adjunct modification, both of which reduce syntactic ambiguity. Furthermore, there is no necessity to hold the floor, and accordingly less need for non-finite linkage of independent clauses. And finally, especially with regard to some of the most commonly used clause linkages in speech such as *te* and *keredomo*, note that in writing there is no possibility to distinguish between their use as underspecified coordinating linkages (which, in speech, are frequently articulated with rising intonation plus elongated final vowel) and their use as adjunct linkages (which, in speech, are frequently articulated with flat intonation and reduced final vowel). We anticipate that the use of intonation phrases, kinesis, gaze etc. may play a big role in the difference between the structures of speech and writing. Learning not to rely on these resources is part of learning how to write.

It is worth noting that there is a well-established proscription against the use of multiple clause linkage structures within Japanese prescriptive grammar. Pupils in elementary school are apt to write compositions including long sentences with multiple clause linkage, apparently carrying their habits of speech over to another channel. Their teachers typically instruct them to split these long sentences into groups of simple sentences, adding conjunctives to clarify the relationships between them. The rationale is that lengthy sentences give to readers the impression of sloppiness and pointlessness and, thus, short sentences with conjunctives are preferable.

We do not intend our observations about the exigencies of writing and formality to be a justification for the conventions of prescriptive grammar. While multiple clause linkage structures are exploited and facilitated in speech in ways that do not apply to writing, in theory there is nothing preventing their use in writing, including formal prose. Logical conjunctives

can appear just as easily at the beginnings of coordinated clauses as they can in sentence-initial positions; syntactic ambiguities made possible by extended structures can be avoided by careful planning and self-monitoring; clauses with saturated argument structures can be linked with little risk of violating constraints on coordination. In fact, there are historical reasons to believe that the avoidance of multiple clause linkage structures in prose is more a convention of contemporary formal style than a natural consequence of high levels of planning, self-monitoring and avoidance of repair. We will return to this point in section 4.4.

4.2 The Dynamic Production of the Multiple Clause Linkage Structure

Kondo (2005) proposes a model for the process of producing multiple clause linkage structures to account for their frequent occurrence in the prose of Early Middle Japanese. In his model, a main clause modified by a preceding subordinate clause is rewritten to become another subordinate clause, which in turn modifies a following clause.[5] This rewriting process is driven by what he calls "dynamic rewriting rules". According to this framework, the multiple clause linkage structure can be understood as the result of repeated applications of the dynamic rewriting rule.

Kondo (2005) exemplifies the stages of dynamic rewriting using an example from the fifth chapter of *The Tales of Ise*. We will apply his reasoning to an extended example here. As the structure develops from (8a) to (8f), the portion that constituted the main clause is dynamically rewritten into a subordinate clause that modifies the subsequent clause. This captures the process by which a chain of clauses becomes longer. The underlined parts in (8) below are main clauses that are rewritten into subordinate clauses in the next stage.

8. a) [*hito sigekumo aranedo*] + *tabi kasanari keri*
   b) [*hito sigekumo aranedo*] + *tabi kasanari kereba*] + *aruji kikituku*
   c) [[*hito sigekumo aranedo*] + *tabi kasanari kereba*] + *aruji kikitukete*] + *sono kayohiji ni yogoto ni hito wo suetu*
   d) [[[*hito sigekumo aranedo*] + *tabi kasanari kereba*] + *aruji kikitukete*] + *sono kayohiji ni yogoto ni hito wo suete*] + *mamorasekeri*
   e) [[[[*hito sigekumo aranedo*] + *tabi kasanari kereba*] + *aruji kikitukete*] + *sono kayohiji ni yogoto ni hito wo suete*] + *mamorasekereba*] + *ikedomo e awadu*

5 Again, the issue of whether clauses thus concatenated are in a relation of subordination or coordination, and whether they are semantically dependent or independent, needs to be addressed with a detailed analysis.

f) [[[[[*hito sigekumo aranedo*] + *tabi kasanari kereba*] + *aruji kikitukete*] + *sono kayohiji ni yogoto ni hito wo suete*] + *mamorasekereba*] + *ikedomo e awade*] + *kaerikeri*
Although there weren't many people, because it kept happening, the householder heard about it, and because he placed someone on that route every night, making them keep guard, (the protagonist) being unable to meet (her) – go as he might – went back (home).

It is no great leap to suppose that the multiple clause linkage structure for spoken language is attributable to a similar production process. The question we need to address is why so many multiple clause linkage structures should be found in a written genre. Kondo (2005) cites Sakakura (1975) who suggests that the nature of Classical Japanese literature as rooted in oral tradition may be a factor bearing on the prevalence of extended clause linkages structures in that register. The earliest attested writing of full texts in Native Japanese (i.e. *wabun* as opposed to *kanbun*) records songs from oral tradition and original songs. Some of the earliest examples of Native Japanese prose also record tales (*monogatari*) from oral tradition or texts meant to be recited to an audience. Many of the texts of Early Middle Japanese that Kondo analyses are also called *monogatari* and some (including *The Tales of Ise*) have their origins in oral tradition. Finally, while many of the texts are diaries, the practice for reproducing and disseminating these texts was for one person to read them aloud while another person transcribed, and this may have had an influence on the form that the discourse takes.

Kondo's findings prompt us to sample records of Native Japanese at various points in the history of the language. While at this point we cannot offer a compelling explanation for the distribution of this pattern of clause linkage, in Early Middle Japanese, a wider historical view suggests that the pattern was the norm for most of the history of the Japanese language.

4.3 Application to Old Japanese

Next, we will compare the distribution of clause boundaries between Contemporary Japanese and Old Japanese as a case study extending the same analytic techniques to a wider range of text. Applying the same procedure of clause boundary analysis to a corpus of Old Japanese in the 7th and 8th centuries, we will examine whether the same tendency of clause linkage structure can be found between Contemporary and Old Japanese.

We use the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese (OCOJ), a highly organised and annotated corpus of Old Japanese (Frellesvig et al. 2010). The ongoing corpus building project is hosted at the Faculty of Oriental Studies (University of Oxford). The OCOJ contains almost all of the extant main texts

from the Old Japanese period, including seven poetic collections and two non-poetic collections, with a total of approximately 111,000 words. The main features of the OCOJ are that the texts in the corpus are annotated to a high level of specificity, with full lemmatisation, morphological information, syntactic constituency, and core grammatical and semantic roles.

We examined a non-poetic text, *Shoku Nihongi Senmyō*, which contains a total of 14,306 words in 512 sentences. A total of 3,121 clause boundary labels were manually annotated to the text. (9) shows an example of the annotated text.

9. *koko wo motite* |te| *nori no pumi ni nosetaru wo ato tosite* |te| *nori no mani mani nagaku topoku ima wo pazimete* |te| *tugitugi ni tamapariyukamu* |adnominal| *mono zo to* |quote| *pepito iti tamapaku to noritamapu opomikoto wo kikitamapeyo to* |quote| *noritamapu* |EOS|(*Shoku Nihongi Senmyō* 2, 707)
   It says, listen to the great words that tell the fact that hereby, with what is written in law as precedent, as something that shall be received for a very long and distant time from now according to the law, I bestow (upon you) five thousand families.

Figure 3 shows the result of the comparison between SPS, Books and *Senmyō* text. The frequencies were normalised to 20,000 words in each register.

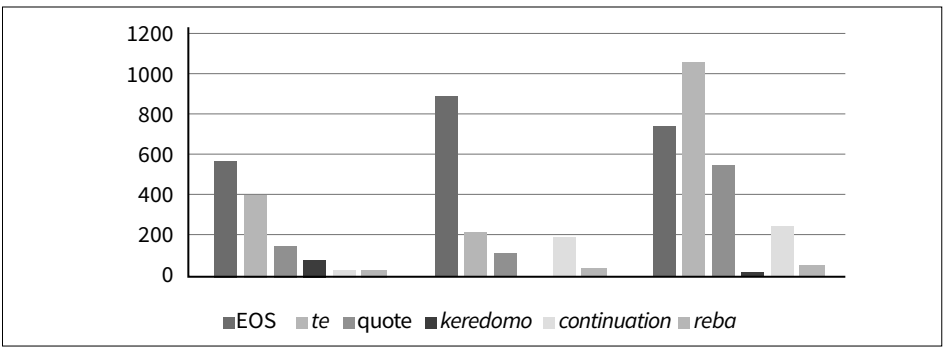

Figure 3. Frequency of Clause Boundaries (per 200,000 words)

As figure 3 shows, the frequency of *te*-clauses in *Senmyō* is much higher than that in SPS or Books. This indicates that the multiple clause linkage structure with *te*-clause occurs much more frequently in the particular genre of Old Japanese that the *Senmyō* represents (as exemplified in (9)).

The most frequent patterns of clause linkage in the *Senmyō* were analysed and compared with those in SPS and Books. Table 7 shows the result.

Table 7. Frequent Clause Linkage Patterns (SPS, Books, *Senmyō*)

SPS		Books		*Senmyō*	
26.2%	EOS	45.1%	EOS	21.3%	EOS
5.9%	*te* _ EOS	7.8%	*te* _ EOS	18.4%	*te* _ EOS
3.6%	quote _ EOS	6.4%	cont. _ EOS	8.0%	quote _ EOS
1.8%	*toyu* _ EOS	3.5%	quote _ EOS	5.5%	*te* _ *te* _ EOS
1.7%	*te* _ quote _ EOS	2.4%	*ga* _ EOS	2.9%	*te* _ quote _ quote _ EOS
1.6%	*de* _ EOS	1.8%	*to* _ EOS	2.7%	quote _ quote _ EOS
1.4%	*keredomo* _ EOS	1.8%	*de* _ EOS	2.5%	cont. _ EOS
1.4%	*to* _ EOS	1.6%	*reba* _ EOS	2.5%	*suruni* _ EOS
1.4%	*te* _ *te* _ EOS	1.2%	*toyu* _ EOS	2.1%	*te* _ quote _ EOS
1.2%	*ga* _ EOS	1.2%	*kara* _ EOS	2.1%	*te* _ *te* _ *te* _ EOS

The patterns "*te* _ EOS" and "quote _ EOS" are ranked at 2nd and 3rd place in *Senmyō*, which are common to the three registers. These patterns may have constituted the basic clause linkage structure from the era of Old Japanese, although the ratios of these patterns in *Senmyō* are much higher than those of the contemporary spoken and written Japanese. Some of the patterns of clause linkage structure in *Senmyō* may be attributable to the fact that it was a register written to be recited aloud in proclamations as the quoted words of current and former emperors.

While Kondo (2005) showed how the multiple clause linkage structure is frequently observed in the Early Middle Japanese texts, we show that such structures can also be found in Old Japanese. The question of which eras and registers gave rise to what type of clause linkage structures is an issue that should be clarified by compiling a large-scaled diachronic written corpus from a variety of different time periods. While such projects are only in the planning stages at this point, we will offer some concrete evidence of what they may bring to light in the future by examining a small excerpt of Japanese text sampled from an era only slightly removed from our own.

4.4 A Question of Style

From the viewpoint of the prescriptive grammar of contemporary Japanese, highly complex clause linkage structures should be avoided in prose. Nevertheless, we noted that multiple clause linkage structure frequently occurred in the prose of Early Middle Japanese and at even earlier stages as well. This prompts us to ask at what historical point the multiple clause linkage structure came to be regarded as something to be avoided in writing. (10) is an example of a newspaper article published in 1908.

10. *Tsurumizai ni hakken seraretaru kaiketsu ga oanasama to tataerarete / meishinja no sankei ōki yoshi o ichihayaku hōjitaruni, / kiji no eikyō wa keihin densha kabu ni oyoboshi, / hongetsu jōjun*

rokujū san shi en narishi mono / tonde / nanajū en go roku jissen ni bōtō shitaruga, / kowa oanasama sankeisha no higoto ni zōka shi / ichinichi sūsen nin no hitode arite / keihin densha no shūnyū ichijirushiku / zōka shitaru yori / tomi ni ninki no kōkyō o kuwaeshi mono naruga, / dō kaiketsu wa sude ni kisai seshi gotoku / kanagawaken keisatsusho yori meishinja o yūchi suru gotoki setsubi wo tekkyo seshimerareshini, / matamoya sono kiji ga arawaruru to dōji ni, / nijū yokka no shijō ni oite / gazen san en go jissen no bōraku o miru ni itareri to. /

When the news was reported first (here) that, the mysterious hole that was discovered in Tsurumizai being revered as 'the honorable hole' / the pilgrimages made (there) by worshippers are numerous / the influence of the article having affected the stock value of the Keihin Railroad Company, / while it was a value of 63-4 yen at the beginning of this month, / jumping / it rose rapidly to 70 yen and 50-60 sen, / but as for this, the people who make pilgrimage to 'the honourable hole' increasing daily / there being several thousand trips per day / it is a case where, added to the Keihin Railroad Company's earnings' notably / increasing / is its sudden favourable state of popularity, / but as for the selfsame mysterious hole, as has previously been reported, / installations for attracting worshippers having been removed by the Kanagawa Police Department / at the publication of the article in question, / positioned in the market of the 24th / (the value) suddenly came to see a fall of 3 yen and 50 sen, (so it is said) that… /

This article consists of one sentence fragment with a highly complex multiple clause linkage structure. The attestation of such a text in 1908 indicates that multiple clause linkage structures were a part of standard Japanese prose at least at the end of the Meiji era. Radical changes in written styles were happening throughout the Meiji era, but at some point after the Meiji era the multiple clause linkage structure evidently came to be avoided in formal written registers of Standard Japanese. In order to clarify the dynamic state of style-shift in Japanese history, we need to examine more corpora of written Japanese in the early 20th century. The investigation of all these issues remains as work for the future.

5 Concluding Remarks

This paper focuses on the issue of the multiple clause linkage structure. Quantitative and qualitative analyses and descriptions of this structure were conducted using two large-scale contemporary Japanese corpora, the CSJ and the BCCWJ. By identifying and examining multiple clause linkage structures, we shed light on the question of what kinds of settings give

rise to what type of clause linkage structures through what processes. The "dynamic rewriting rule" proposed by Kondo (2005) was discussed as a model for the production of multiple clause linkage structures, and their distribution in written texts of Early Middle Japanese was noted. Some common patterns of multiple clause linkage structures occurring in Old Japanese prose were identified and compared to patterns in written and spoken contemporary Japanese. Finally, a late Meiji era text was examined to suggest that the 'non-normative' status of the multiple clause linkage structure in prose is a more recent development than we initially expected.

Since the turn of the millennium, various corpora of contemporary Japanese have gradually been developed. Their widespread use has quickly prepared a foundation that makes it possible to quantitatively observe and describe linguistic phenomena that heretofore have been conventionally considered to be 'non-normative'. Even though contrasts and comparisons of spoken and written language have been conducted for a long time, by using large-scale corpora including a variety of registers, it has now become possible to conduct quantitative analyses that were unimaginable previously. In order to better understand the processes that bear on the form of the Japanese language, we encourage the creation of more various speech and written corpora including data across as many registers and historical periods as possible.

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Part 3.
Nuclear Questions: From Hiroshima to Fukushima

New Steps in Japanese Studies
Kobe University Joint Research
edited by Kazashi Nobuo and Marcella Mariotti

Engaged Foreign Language Pedagogy: Translating *Hadashi no Gen*

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Abstract This study aims to show how even translating can be seen as an 'engaged foreign language pedagogy', when it comes to 'sharing memories' and contents that are highly significant for the well-being of the social actors involved in such a process: teachers, students, publishers, readers and all humankind. The case study is *Hadashi no Gen* (*Barefoot Gen*, Nakazawa Keiji, 1973-85; below: GEN), a translating workshop at an Italian University. The aspects explored are: 1) the critical 'dialogues' about histories and world-views as de-standardisation of teaching, professionalisation of teachers and critical education (Freire 1970); 2) the relevance of translated contents as motivating stimuli to reconsider social power balances and engagement; 3) the rule of social networks in aspects 1) and 2). We are finding that translating can be considered not only as a mere 'foreign language exercise', but as a starting point to reflect upon social responsibilities; we hope to find how this process is undertaken in teacher-learner relation.

Keywords Hadashi no Gen. Engaged pedagogy. Foreign language education. Japanese language. Nuclear power. Welfare language pedagogy.

1 *Hadashi no Gen.* Sharing Memories

Hadashi no Gen, internationally known as *Barefoot Gen*, is a historically-set semi-autobiographical, self-written and illustrated manga by Nakazawa Keiji (1939-2012). From 1973 to 1975 it was serialised weekly in *Shōnen Jump*, i.e. the Japanese comics journal for boys, which was one of the most widely read of that period (selling almost two million copies at week) and was published by Shūeisha. As Berndt (2012) states referring to Fukuma (2006): "In 1974, it had already a weekly circulation of 1.65 million copies, with each copy going through the hands of approximately three readers". After about one year of pause, due to the 1973 oil shock and shortage of paper, it continued to be published, but in less popular non-manga journals

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aimed at adults, such as *Shimin* (Citizen), *Hyōron Bunka* (Cultural Criticism) and *Kyōiku Hyōron* (Critical Education) between 1975 and 1985. In 1975 the episodes serialised to date were collected into four volumes that became the base for the first GEN animated film in 1983. Nowadays, when translations are included, GEN reaches more than ten million readers around the world (Mizuno 2015).

This work is surely one of the most diffused images of the Atomic Bomb, mostly seen also nowadays by a majority of the young people in Japan.[1] Due to the School Library Law of 1953, in the mid-seventies, though, no manga was accepted at schools except for the so-called *gakushū* manga (literally 'study manga') specifically created to supplement school curricula (Inoue 2012). Gen was one of the first, if not the first, manga aimed at a regular audience to be widely accepted in schools. Yoshimura Kazuma, professor in the Faculty of Manga at Kyoto Seika University, said that "people born in the 1970s and after have Gen at the center of their image of war" (Suga 2013).

So we owe to GEN the official acknowledgement of the educational value of the very genre itself, since in the eighties the vast majority of Japan's population were reading manga.

The first translation of GEN was made in 1976 by the volunteer Project Gen Group based in Tokyo, and it was first published in English in 1978. As of today, GEN has been translated totally or partially into more than twenty-two languages: it first appeared in Italian in 2000 as a partial translation from English, while in 2014 the original full version translated from Japanese was published by 001 Hikari Edizioni. As a marketing choice of the Italian publisher, the full series was grouped into three translated volumes, enriched by critical papers and insights: volume 1, corresponding to volumes 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the Chōbunsha printed edition; volume 2, corresponding to Chōbunsha volumes 5, 6 and 7; and volume 3, corresponding to Chōbunsha volumes 8, 9 and 10.

The first and the third of the three Italian translated volumes, that is volumes 1 to 4 and 8 to 10 of the series, were objects of the two translation workshops, which together form the case study of this paper.

As the 70th anniversary of the A-Bombing (1945-2015) approached, fewer and fewer people who personally experienced the war and especially the atomic bombing were still with us. The issue of how to pass on such a monstrous history of ours as real to a new generation has now become a more pressing and urgent issue than ever.

A lot has been written about the impossibility of narrating and explaining what was felt in those very 'ground-zero moments' experienced in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and in their aftermaths. However, where words

1 A Mainichi Shinbun's national survey in 24 October 2014 showed that over 80% of adult respondents had read GEN.

only fail, the sum of pictures and words found some expressions, such as in manga, which "can try to bridge the internal and external representation of pain; they can tell pain and show it" (Freedman 2012, 382), overcoming the impasse by representing what cannot be told and telling what cannot be represented. Ichiki Masashi (2011) counted seventy-four A-bomb-related manga between 1951 and 2010, out of which twenty-two were created by Nakazawa Keiji. If it is true that manga are still nowadays one of the most popular forms of media in Japan, and that popular culture is surely one of the sources shaping the experienced and unexperienced memories (Ichiki 2011, 36), what happens when we want to spread such "limited [to Japan] group memories" all over the world? How can we overcome geographic boundaries, while staying still on the soil of Hiroshima as a symbol of the world inhumanity? The nuclear accident in Fukushima, which was part of the '3.11' triple disaster, of course marked a new step in consciousness about nuclear threats and the need to reconsider and also not to forget the histories and the stories of A-bombing. This is precisely the time when manga could come to the fore and help. This is the time when translation into other languages has become a means of constructing global memories, and surely this is the reason why GEN has been the very first book-length manga to be translated outside of Japan and it has been translated so far in more than 22 languages, from English, Dutch and Polish, to Egyptian (Arabic), Persian and Sinhalese.

2 *Hadashi no Gen.* How to Share Memories?

Despite other A-bomb-related manga, Nakazawa's work has the greatest ability to involve readers of every age in such un-writeable, unbearable to read and unbelievable *history*. Unlike other works, to phrase Ichiki's criticism of early A-bomb-related manga in reverse order, it treats the A-bomb more as "a social menace to be protested", rather than as "convenient materials to dramatise [the author's] stories" (Ichiki 2011, 38). As such, GEN has long been considered to be a 'canonised text', thought to teach children and alike about the A-bomb and its effects (Ichiki 2011). However, some people would seek to deny this position to GEN. For example, the recent dispute that arouse in Matsue city "requested that all the elementary and junior high schools in the city move the comic books to closed shelves to restrict students' free access in December 2012, citing an excess of violent description as the reason" (Mizuno 2015, 955). As Nakazawa himself stated, he was against a "sugar-coated description of the bomb" that would let children romanticise it, and he believed that the more frightening the bomb appears in his manga, the more effective a tool it would be (Nakazawa 1994, 211).

How then did Nakazawa convey those images in such a way that they

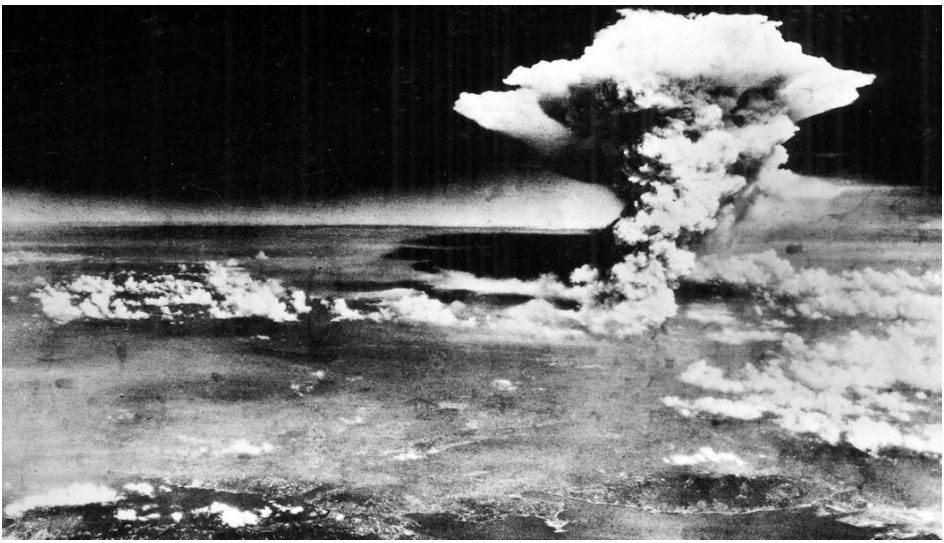

Figure 1. The first atomic bomb. Universal History Archive

could (and still can) become shared memories of the world? I like to consider Nakazawa's GEN as a 'text' similar to a 'hypertext', allowing the reader to instantly jump back and forth across longer or differing timelines, which I will call 'contemporary' realism.

GEN plays on two different contemporary timelines. Firstly, the dialect used in GEN seems to be one that is actually in use in Hiroshima in the seventies, and known by the readers of that time. For this very reason, it confers a reality to the graphically visualised location of the manga's story: the city of Hiroshima might even not be visually represented within the drawing panels, but it is still there because of its contemporary voices. Unfortunately, since the eighties, Hiroshima dialect has become so diffuse through Gen that nowadays it seems to recall in most of the people who did not grow up in the city mainly the horrible history that hit it. Secondly, GEN represents the contemporaneity of the forties-fifties through its material culture: in the Italian volume 1 that covers Japanese volumes 1 to 4, our translation workshop came across as many as thirtynine songs, where music, lyrics and their singers were surely shared memories of the elderly in their seventies or eighties at the time of GEN's publication, and still echoed in the ears of those in their thirties, such as Nakazawa too (see appendix 1). At the same time, audio memories are also recalled through megaphones publicising movies of the time such as Kurosawa Akira's *Drunken Angel* of 1948 (fig. 2), as well as visual memories that are solicited by advertising boards promoting 'modern rice-cookers' and 'sweet potatoes candies', signs such as one for a 'war widows' house' (fig. 2), or

Figure 2. Material culture in GEN (Nakazawa [1975] 2015, 7: 36)

prestigious companies names (e.g. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Hiroshima Shipyard, in the Eba district, present-day Naka Ward) of Hiroshima area.

And yet, Nakazawa's contemporary realism overcomes other collectively constructed shared memories of A-bombing representations too. As Comotti (2013, 3) has pointed out, most of the A-bombing representations describe the city from above and, by doing so, delete "what is under the mushroom and remains unseen" or, in other pictures, the depiction is of a totally 'removed' city (fig. 3), be it Hiroshima, Nagasaki or any-other city.

Yet, in Nakazawa's bombing there is no complete oblivion: he depicts the very moment when the bomb exploded, but the drawings are not depictions from above and the mushroom cloud is not 'covering' humans at street level. Gen is there, right under the explosion. The city itself is there, and the people are there too: the manga panels convey real pain, an unbearable historical horror (fig. 4).[2]

It is by means of such a 'contemporary realism' that Nakazawa takes the reader hand-in-hand through the atrocity and inhumanity of the bombing and its immediate aftermath. And through the following eight volumes, he continues to remind us that A-bomb effects almost never end and are not to be romanticised. It is his depiction of 'real time', 'real place' and 'real people' that sums up his anger towards the past, allows his and our visions

2 I am very grateful to Mrs Nakazawa Misayo for the permission to reproduce some pages from *Hadashi no Gen* in this paper.

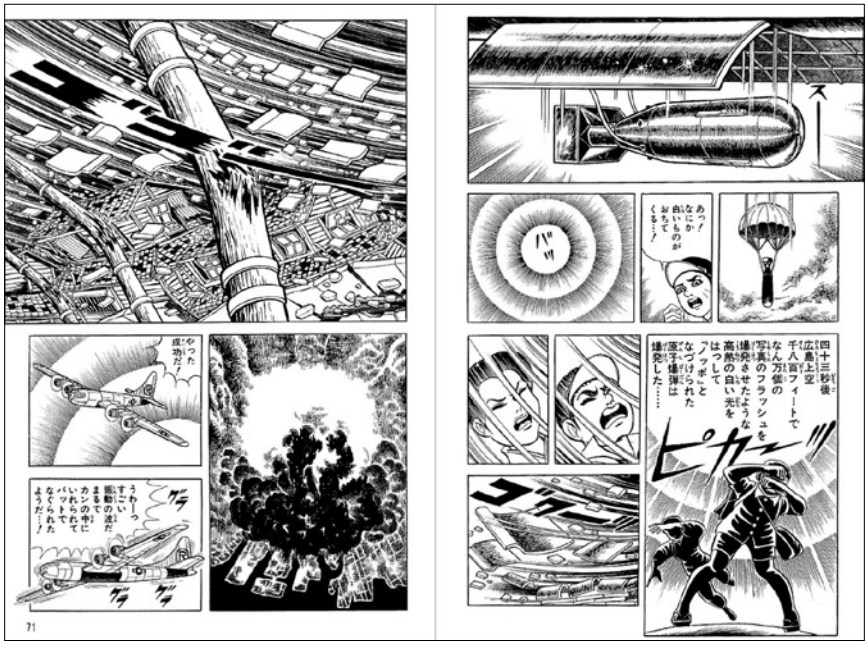

Figure 3. No oblivion: A-bomb seen from below (Nakazawa [1975] 2015, 1: 250-1)

Figure 4. No oblivion: depicting real pain (Nakazawa [1975] 2015, 1: 256-7)

for the future, and leads his protagonist Gen to vow "I'll make a book of it: all Japan, all the world must know about it" (Nakazawa 1987, 102).

3 Sharing Whose Memories?

What Nakazawa Keiji surely did with his GEN was to pass on collective memories through all the senses (visual, audio, taste, touch and smell), sharing the feelings of volunteers, forced kamikaze pilots, *panpan* girls, black marketeers, *yakuza* gang members, orphans, doctors, actors, writers, publishers, Koreans, the young and the old. How can we feel the five senses Nakazawa's words and images spark in each panel, from putrefying human corpses to manure, food, music, movies and more? Art Spiegelman wrote:

> Comics are a highly charged medium, delivering densely concentrated information in relatively few words and simplified code images. It seems to me that this is a model of how the brain formulates thoughts and remembers. We think in cartoons. Comics have often demonstrated how well suited they are to telling action adventure stories or jokes, but the small scale of the images and the directness of a medium that has something in common with handwriting allow comics a kind of intimacy that also make them surprisingly well suited to autobiography. (Spiegelman 1990, 1)

How can these private or local memories become 'ours'? How can we connect two very different levels of memories, the private and the public, the local and the global, so as to preserve the important human right, the 'right to know'?

4 Engaged Language Pedagogy and GEN Translation Workshops

4.1 Engaged in Sharing Memories

The first and primary reason why I accepted the challenge of translating GEN from Japanese into Italian was of course my will to contribute to such an important worldwide sharing of memories' activity, since I strongly believe that reading GEN can help support peace in the world. My parents' generation and my own did not experience the Second World War, but at least had the chance to hear about it from their parents or our grandparents who were caught up in it: this allowed the sharing of feelings, and somehow a kind of 'personal' involvement. But for those born in the late 90s, this kind of personal involvement has become more and more difficult and it seems almost impossible for those born after the year 2000. As US President Barack Obama wrote in his letter of thanks addressed to

the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (Dec. 2016): "We have a shared responsibility to look directly into the eye of history and ask what we must do differently to prevent such suffering from ever happening again".[3]

My research about how to bring the younger generations to a 'personal involvement' could find an answer starting from another fundamental question: why do we teach foreign languages? As pointed out by Hosokawa, Ōtsuji and Mariotti (2016), teaching a language can be seen simply as facilitating the construction of a 'real place' that can allow participants in such holistic activity to grow as citizens and as responsible actors in our society, starting from their own first micro-community (the classroom) and then, behind it. In such a view, teaching language is no more just 'teaching something', but rather facilitating the creation of an interaction between members of a community/society through different kinds of languages: native language, foreign language, body language and so forth. Of course, this concept brings with it an awareness that necessarily fills in the gap between 'theory and practice', requiring a strong and real engagement.

It was such engagement that brought together the above two questions and gave a tentative answer: a 'translation workshop', transversal in disciplines and methods,[4] and focused not only on words but on content brought up by Nakazawa Keiji's semi-autobiographical manga. This could act as a form of de-standardised foreign language pedagogy focused on content, which could make younger generations (normally used to comics as a narrative genre) somehow 'personally experience' World War II and make them willing critically discuss history, develop a political consciousness, and contribute to an increased worldly sharing (Train 2010, 156-7).

4.2 The Two Translation Workshops

The first workshop (Workshop 1) started working online through a Facebook closed group on March 31, 2014. The group was composed of sixteen graduate and eleven undergraduate students with varying interests. Some of them were interested in being published as translators, and some others were interested in manga (mainly *shōjo* manga), history or Japanese language. As a group, though, their interest was mainly driven by their dissatisfaction with circulating translations: as a consequence, they were willing to do their best in order to make Japanese literary works more enjoyable in a foreign language. The objects of the workshop were the

3 Mizukawa, Kyosuke; Nagahisa, Gosuke (2016). "Letter of Thanks from U.S. President Obama Arrives at Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum" [online]. *Hiroshima Peace Media Center*, 2nd December. URL `http://www.hiroshimapeacemedia.jp/?p=67101` (2016-12-30).

4 The workshops were conducted online through a Facebook group and by face to face individual as well group meetings, with graduated and undergraduated students.

Japanese printed volumes 1 to 4 of GEN published by Chōbunsha in 1993-4 (original edition 1975-87) as a series of 10.

The second workshop (Workshop 2) was dedicated only to graduating students and started from October 2015, working on the translation of volumes 8, 9 and 10 of GEN (Chōbunsha printed edition 1993-4).

The translation group was named *Gruppo di traduzione: Gen* and as of December 31, 2016 has forty-two members. The group was meant to share translation tools, working spreadsheets and comments about content and terminology, as well as information and suggestions about how to manage a translation work. While using a virtual space, the immediacy of messages received by smartphone and by computer too, as well as the personal information about members and their endeavours in translating historically distant and almost inconceivably inhumane events, allowed the members to share a strong sense of community that recalls Condry's 'collaborative creativity' (Condry 2013). By doing so, two spreadsheets were compiled by the participants: *Gen: slogan militari, canzoni e diciture ricorrenti* (Gen: military slogans, songs and recurrent terms) and *Onomatopee Gen* (Gen onomatopoeia). The two sheets were meant not only to facilitate research, substitution and uniformity in the translation of key terms and slogans, but also to encourage both debate about them and a recognition that "translation, like any cultural practice, entails the creative reproduction of values" that can never be "objective and value free" as linguistic-oriented approaches may suggest (Venuti 1998, 1).

The first workshop group members were able to personally gather on December 10, 2014, at the book launch for publication of the Italian volume *Gen di Hiroshima* (Hikari 2014). This event was part of a broader presentation titled *Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Fukushima: Research, Translation, Pedagogy and Social Engagement*, presenting various activities of research (Mariotti, Miyake, Revelant 2014; Bienati 2015) and volunteer work (Orto dei sogni,[5] Ca' Foscari per il Giappone[6]) carried out in this field at the Department of Asian and North African Studies of Ca' Foscari University of Venice. On the other hand, while the second workshop group had personal meetings, these were aimed at facilitating students to compose their B.A. final reports for graduation.

4.3 Output of the Workshops

As for the students' final graduation reports, it was required that they must have translated approximately fifty manga pages of the printed edition

5 URL http://ortodeisogni.org (2017-03-22).

6 URL http://cafoscariperilgiappone.stud.unive.it (2017-03-22).

of GEN, and have written a maximum of fifteen A4 pages of commentary on a related subject each of the students considered interesting for them to research about. Submitted graduation reports were about translation issues, economic and/or historical background, A-bomb literature and manga representations (table 1).

Table 1 Students' final graduation reports themes

Translation issues: Dialect and onomatopoeia in GEN	6
Post-war Japanese economy; Yakuza and black market; Working conditions after WW2 in Japan	3
Material culture representation in GEN: songs and movies	1
Anime transposition of the manga GEN and autobiographical issues	2
A-bomb through manga	1
Censorship on Hiroshima bombing and the ABCC (Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission)	2
A-bomb effects on humans and Hibakusha testimonials	2
Women from the Thirties to after WW2; *Pan-pan girls*	2
Nuclear and pacifism after Fukushima 3.11; Hiroshima and peace	2

From September to December 2016 a questionnaire about the workshops was made and spread to the Facebook group members with the main purpose of having participants reflect upon their own experience in translating GEN and writing commentaries. The completed questionnaires were collected from ten members of Workshop 1 and seven members of workshop 2, as well as from 5 'other' participants.

The responses showed that, out of twenty-two respondents, fourteen had read GEN volumes prior to their assessed one, either in English (6), in Japanese (6) or in Italian (2). Some 54.5% of the respondents did not know GEN at all, while 36.4% had not read it but knew about it. Only 4.5% (1 person) had just partially read it. For senior participants (i.e. those who had already completed undergraduate degrees), their main reason for taking part in the workshops was a desire to try to translate, but not necessarily a manga. Only three of them were willing to engage solely in the GEN translation. As for undergraduate students writing their graduation thesis, they were mainly willing to learn the tools of the translator's trade and to write 'socially engaged' final papers. Responses to the multiple-choice question 'What did translating GEN give you?' showed that respondents mostly (77%) recognised they had learnt about translation tools (jgram, shared documents, online dictionaries, and discussion forums) and technical issues in manga translation (lettering, balloon numbering, adaptation of translated text to space; 72%). A significant percentage of them (68%) took into consideration language diversity (age, gender, regionalism), and close to a half (45%) recognised that translating can be ethically relevant. In answering this question, only some also felt they had learnt to collabo-

rate with others (22%) and some acknowledged their own responsibility as social actors (18%). Despite the latter low percentage though, on considering the open question 'How relevant to you is this kind of workshop, with regard to methodology, content and colleagues?', besides acknowledging the learning of new tools and new methods of collaborative work, almost all respondents addressed their personal involvement and experience too. Example of these responses were:

"Taking part in the translation of such an important work made me feel 'part of something bigger' and important too!"

"I had the chance to analyse an historical event from a perspective that is more human than one that is possible through books".

"I got to know translation tools as well as historical facts that I didn't know before my research and comment paper".

"I got to know new translation tools and historical facts, as well as how events are more effectively represented through a manga [in comparison to other media]".

"I realised how an historical manga has an added value greater than other genres: being testimony not only of the events themselves, but also of customs and tradition, orality, material culture of a period, things that are usually completely disregarded by history textbooks".

"Through this workshop, I had the chance to be directly in contact with the work GEN and to deepen my knowledge about postwar Japan, as well as to face the thorny nuclear issue".

5 Conclusions

> Much work remains to be done in the principled practice of de-colonial, trans-linguistic, and transcultural crossing and negotiating of the historically constitute borders of language, culture and speakership. Framed in these terms, our professional activities as foreign language educators in the humanities must also include engagement in discussions regarding history, political consciousness, ethical intercultural being, and criticality in language education. (Train 2010, 156-7)

Even though the relatively low numbers and the limited demographic of those involved in the translation project, and their responses to the survey taken afterwards, mean that conclusions cannot be easily generalised, the two workshops can surely be considered as an attempt to create a common place where teacher and students become 'facilitator and members' of a community where they both grow as historically and socially responsible individuals. This clearly happens only when the role of participants goes beyond the standardised teaching curricula: although some of the members would have liked a more 'teacher-like' up-down relationship, au-

tonomy of thinking and researching has shown to be reached only through critical dialogues about histories and world-views. That is, the relevance of translated content as motivating stimuli to reconsider social power balances and engagement has been showed in the online comments and in the final commentary papers (e.g. freely debating 'against' the teacher's proposed translation).

> Education is not about showing life to people, but bringing them to life. The aim is not getting students to listen to convincing lectures by experts, but getting them to speak for themselves in order to achieve, or at least strive toward an equal degree of participation and a better future. (Ross 2014, 175)

Finally, as appears from the questionnaire's answers to the question "How was this kind of workshop relevant to you as for methodology, content and colleagues?", the role of social networks in the above two aspects (critical dialogues and relevance of translated content) has been fundamental to the process. Due to the distance of living places, different working time, pace, and different ages, a social network like Facebook and shared Google spreadsheets enabled the members to find instantaneous as well as differed help in searching or commenting each other's work or opinions, as a virtual community.

The whole project of the two translating workshops – including the final survey that was aimed mainly to make the members be conscious of their own involvement – seems to be an answer to how to make the memories of 'others' relevant so that they can become 'personally' shared ones. From some answers to the last two questions of the survey (see Appendix 2), it can be seen that participating in the GEN translation process offered participants the chance to think about their own and our shared past, and to decide, now and for the future, if we continue to share it, how this shall be done.

The Italian translation of GEN's volume 1 was surely enriched by the participants' 'collaborative creativity' and discussions. A final workshop about the translation and content of volume 2 and volume 3 will take place as soon as the latter becomes available: in this way, we will hopefully strengthen shared memories in order to spread and sustain a peace message for our future.

Appendix 1

The 39 Songs in the Italian GEN Volume 1 (Mariotti 2014, 20-32)

1. Baka wa shinanakya naoranai
2. Boku wa gunjin daisuki yo
3. Chūgoku chihō no komoriuta
4. Dōki no sakura
5. Furusato
6. Genkō
7. Getsu Getsu Ka Sui Moku Kin Kin
8. Gunkan kōshin kyoku
9. Hito o koiuru uta
10. Hoshi no nagare ni
11. Ichikake nikake no uta
12. Ike no koi
13. Itsuki no komoriuta
14. Kaigun Kouta (Zum doko bushi)
15. Kawaii Sūchan
16. Ken ken no pa
17. Kokyō no sora
18. Kutsu ga naru
19. Nihon Rikugun
20. Oyama no sugi no ko
21. Ringo no uta
22. Roei no uta
23. Sakura sakura
24. Sayonara sankaku
25. Sen'yū
26. Shōyō no uta
27. Sō da mura no sonchōsan
28. Tabi gasa dōchū
29. Tabi no yokaze
30. Tan tan tanuki no
31. Temari uta
32. Tonarigumi
33. Tongari bōshi
34. Tsubosaka reigen ki
35. Tsuki
36. Umi
37. Umi yukaba
38. Wakawashi no uta
39. Ware wa umi no ko

Appendix 2
The questionnaire

1. Che anno frequentavi quando hai tradotto GEN? (Which year where you in when you translated GEN?)
2. Che parte hai tradotto? (Which part did you translate?)
3. Quali erano il titolo e l'argomento del tuo commento (se eri laureanda/o)? (Which were the title and the subject of your commentary, if you were a final-year student?)
4. A quale workshop hai partecipato? (Which workshop did you attend?)
5. In che ruolo? (laureato/laureando) (As graduated or as undergraduate student?)
6. Avevi letto i volumi che precedono la parte tradotta da te? (Had you already read the pages preceding those you translated?)
7. Conoscevi già l'opera Hadashi no Gen? (Did you already know GEN?)
8. Per chi era già laureato durante il periodo di traduzione: perché hai tradotto GEN? (If you were graduated, why did you chose to translate GEN?)
   - 8.a volevo provare a tradurre in generale; (I wanted to try to translate in general).
   - 8.b volevo imparare a tradurre manga; (I wanted to learn how to translate manga).
   - 8.c volevo tradurre proprio questo manga; (I wanted to translate this very manga).
9. Per chi era laureando/a durante il periodo di traduzione: perché hai tradotto GEN? (If you were an undergraduate student, why did you translate GEN?)
   - 9.a volevo fare una tesi di traduzione indipendentemente dall'argomento; (I wanted to write a translation thesis, no matter the content to be translated).
   - 9.b volevo fare una tesi di traduzione di argomento storico; (I wanted to write a historical translation thesis).
   - 9.c volevo fare una tesi di traduzione socialmente impegnata; (I wanted to write a socially meaningful translation thesis).
   - 9.d volevo fare una tesi di traduzione di manga e imparare 'gli strumenti del mestiere'; (I wanted to translate manga and to learn the translator's tools).
   - 9.e volevo fare una tesi proprio su questo manga; (I wanted to write a translation thesis on this very manga).
10. Cosa ti ha dato tradurre quest'opera? (What did translating this work give you?)
   - 10.a sono diventato/a più consapevole della mia responsabilità civile; (I became more conscious of my civil responsibility).
   - 10.b ho imparato a collaborare con gli altri; (I learned how to cooperate with others).
   - 10.c ho imparato ad utilizzare strumenti di traduzione (jgram, dizionari online, documenti condivisi, Google scholar, forum di discussione...); I learned how to use translation tools (jgram, dictionaries online, shared documents, google scholar, discussion forums...);
   - 10.d ho imparato gli aspetti tecnici della traduzione di un manga (numerazione fumetti, lettering, adattamento traduzione agli spazi); I learned the technical aspects of the translation of a manga (panel numbering, lettering, translation, adaptation to the spaces).

10.e ho imparato che una traduzione può essere eticamente rilevante; (I learned that a translation may be ethically relevant).

10.f ho imparato a considerare le diversità della lingua giapponese (dialetti, età, genere, orientamento politico...); I have learned to consider the diversity of the Japanese language (dialects, age, gender, political orientation...)

10.g ho imparato fatti storici che non conoscevo; (I learned historical facts I did not know).

10.h ho imparato parole ed espressioni nuove in giapponese; (I learned new words and expressions in Japanese).

10.i ho conosciuto persone nuove; (I met new people).

10.j ho tradotto senza pensare alle sfumature o ai contenuti, solo per potermi laureare presto; (I translated without thinking about the nuances or the contents just to be able to graduate early).

11. Che importanza ha avuto per te questo tipo di workshop aperto (metodo, contenuti, colleghi)? How was this kind of open workshop important to you (method, content, colleagues)?

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Bio-Politics over Radiation
From Hiroshima, Chernobyl to Fukushima

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Abstract 'Bio-politics', according to Foucault, concerns natural environment and bodies, which are both 'ungovernable.' Problems regarding radiation risk are typical problems of governability; radiation can contaminate the whole environment and can eventually damage genes and destroy the self-reproductive capacity of biological bodies. Since radiation can be neither seen nor sensed, problems relating to the so-called 'radiation exposure safety level' become political problems concerning the scientific construction of invisible reality and the definition of its meanings for human health. We shed light on the concrete ways bio-politics operates in the nuclear age, running through from Hiroshima, Chernobyl to Fukushima, with an eye to justice as the security of biological bodies.

Keywords Bio-politics. Radiation. Risk. Safety level. Justice.

1 Introduction

As the nightmare of a truly catastrophic scenario was barely overcome after the Fukushima nuclear disaster, heated debates over radiation issues have erupted in Japan.[1] In this paper we shall first overview some of the central questions and problems coming out of these debates; that is, historical re-examinations, the collusion structure and econo-geographical disparities. Then, we will bring into focus the risk of 'internal radiation', which is placing natality itself in peril. In the name of natality, Arendt extolled the human capacity to begin. However, in order to protect the 'miracle of natality', we would have to come face to face with the reality of the bio-politics over radiation risk.

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2 Historical Re-examination. “Atoms for Peace” and the Astro Boy

Following the well-known “Atoms for Peace” speech given by President Eisenhower at the UN General Assembly in December 1953, the US government initiated, as a global publicity campaign, a series of exhibitions for a “Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy”. These were held in Europe, South America and Asia. Japan was a critical and natural target for this campaign; all the more so because Japanese people’s ‘nuclear allergy’ had been intensified by the exposure of Japanese tuna fishing boats to the hydrogen bomb tests conducted near the Bikini Atoll in the Southern Pacific in March 1954.

Beginning in Tokyo in November 1955, the “Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy” exhibition was held in 11 major cities and attracted 2,6 million visitors in total. It was held in Hiroshima as well, which apparently had a strategically decisive significance: the exhibition in Hiroshima was held at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, or the A-Bomb Museum, which had been built only one year earlier. Its sponsors included the American Culture Center, Hiroshima City, Hiroshima University, and The Chugoku Shimbun, a Hiroshima-based newspaper. It has been pointed out that most of the visitors, including *hibakusha* (A-bomb survivors), were rather impressed by the overall image of the ‘rosy future’ to be opened by nuclear power, and that those who cast doubt on it were few. Ichiro Moritaki, a professor of philosophy who led the anti-nuclear movement in post-war Japan, was exceptional in pointing out the need to solve the problem of radioactive fallout (Tashiro 2010). In a word, the publicity campaign was a success.

It should be noted, however, that the popular cartoon hero *Astro Boy* (or *The Mighty Atom*), a nuclear-powered robot character, had been created by Osamu Tezuka as early as in 1951, before the US-initiated publicity campaign. The fact that the initial title Tezuka had in mind for his new cartoon series was *Atom Continent*, signifying a continent where people could flourish thanks to atomic energy, is very symbolic. Thus, even before the US-initiated publicity campaign, the image of the ‘peaceful use of atomic energy’ had been entertained in Japan and further signalled Japan’s fatal ambivalence toward the nuclear question.

3 ‘Nuclear Power Village’

The ‘nuclear power *mura* (village)’ is a Japanese byword referring to the network of collusive relationships among the nuclear power industry, the government bureaucracy, politicians, scientists, and the mainstream media. It is often called the ‘nuclear power pentagon’ as well. This *mura* is a small, closed group in control of the nuclear power establishment.

Indeed, it was none other than the dominant hegemony of this 'nuclear power village' that the public witnessed with the pro-industry comments uttered by many of the so-called 'specialists' who appeared on TV immediately after the nuclear disaster at Fukushima Daiichi. The established community of scientists has been working closely with and for the sake of the nuclear power industry, receiving enormous research funds from it (cf. *Sapio* 2011).[2]

Gradually, however, the voices of more critical scientists and scholars have begun to appear in the media, and they are now playing roles as "organic intellectuals", to use Antonio Gramsci's definition in the struggle over scientific 'hegemony' regarding nuclear power issues.

4 Economic and Geographical Disparities

To make the situation more complicated, such scientific struggles are entangled with conflicts emerging from economic and geographical disparities between local communities and big cities, farmers and consumers, nuclear power companies and subcontract workers on site, etc. First, all of Japan's nuclear plants are located in local areas away from major cities although, inasmuch as Japan is a small country, nothing in Japan is too far away. A well-known anti-nuclear book, provocatively titled *Tokyo-ni Genpatsu o!* (Build a Nuclear Plant in Tokyo!), criticises the "myth of nuclear power safety" by pointing out the fact that nuclear plants have been built away from big cities (Hirose 1986).

In the case of the Hamaoka plants in Shizuoka Prefecture in central Japan, the economic implications of geographical differences in the local areas themselves have stood out in a most typical way. The Hamaoka plants were stopped, two months after the Fukushima accident, at the request of former Prime Minister Naoto Kan, who felt it too risky to let them continue operating because they are located just above the active fault zone.[3] Although pressure to restart these plants has been mounting, the council of Makinohara city has adopted a resolution to request the permanent closing

2 Based on what they obtained under the information-disclosure law, *Sapio* revealed that during the last 5 years the pro-nuclear-power scientists, who often appeared as commentators on TV after the accident, had received about 800 million Yen as research fund from nuclear power companies, nuclear reactor makers and the government.

3 As of November 2011, only 6 out of 54 nuclear plants were in operation; some of them were undergoing a periodic inspection or stopped automatically at the moment of the earthquake, and some others were forced to stop either by a governmental decree or due to accidents. As of August 2014, there were no nuclear plants in operation, but 17 reactors at 10 plants started planning to restart despite strong oppositions, and on 11 August 2015, the Sendai plant, located in southern Japan, resumed operating as the very first plant to do so after the Fukushima disaster.

of the Hamaoka plants. Omaezai city, where the plants are actually located, has been receiving enormous governmental subsidies amounting to 40% of the city's annual revenue. Makinohara city, which is adjacent to Omaezaki city and within a 10-kilometre radius of the plants, has received very little as for subsidies, amounting to less than 1% of its revenue. Furthermore, Makinohara city is heavily dependent on *Suzuki* and other major companies whose factories are located there. Suzuki has announced that it will relocate its factories if the Hamaoka plants are restarted.

5 Bio-Politics over Radiation Risk

The concept of 'bio-power' propounded by Michel Foucault in his analysis of institutions such as prisons, hospitals and schools, which came into being with the advent of modernity, was focused on the arrangement, discipline, and management of visible bodies in social space. However, the notion of 'bio-politics' presented by the later Foucault was meant to call into question not individual bodies, but the 'governability' of various problems inseparably linked to the movements of the population, such as natality, mortality, and morbidity, which can be objectified only in terms of statistics. Thus, bio-politics brings into light, as the substance of the 'raison d'État' distinct from legal dominance and disciplinary power, various 'technologies of governance' that aim to ensure security as much as possible while taking into consideration the statistical risks biological bodies face as groups existing in the midst of natural environment. Most noteworthy is the fact that such 'technologies of governance' are understood to be dealing with the fundamentally unpredictable nature, that is, what is 'ungovernable' at bottom, and, therefore, is incapable of complete success.

The notion of 'bio-politics' clearly anticipates the shift of awareness expressed by the motto 'from disaster prevention to disaster reduction', which came to the fore after the Fukushima disaster, as well as the problems related to the declining birth rate and an aging population. Bio-politics concerns natural environment and bodies, which are both 'ungovernable'. Problems regarding radiation risk are typical problems of 'governability'; radiation can contaminate the whole environment consisting of water, air, and, eventually, can damage genes and destroy the self-reproductive capacity of biological bodies.

Radiation can be neither seen nor sensed, and especially problems relating to the so-called 'radiation exposure safety level' are problems concerning scientific construction of invisible reality and definition of its meanings for human health. Ulrich Beck, who brought to the fore the concept of 'risk' in a way closely related to the Foucauldian concept of bio-politics, reflected upon the situation immediately after the Chernobyl accident as follows:

> [After the accident at Chernobyl,] [o]ur five senses failed us and there was not sixth! I think it was this experience of cultural blindness that was the kernel of our initial shock. We were suddenly exposed to a danger that was physically imperceptible and which could only be experienced through mediation, through the media, which meant through the contradictory statements of experts. (Beck, Willms 2004, 117)

What you get at the height of a risk conflict is competing theories (many of which previously existed and warned of the danger but were ignored). Then a struggle ensures over defining the risk, for example, what the chain of causality is, what the affected population is, etc. (124).

This is exactly what has been happening in Japan after the disaster in Fukushima; Beck's comment could equally describe the current situation in Japan. With the transition of the gravity centre in values induced by the advent of risk society, it becomes indispensable to reconsider and translate social justice in terms of the security of biological bodies; this means the necessity to comprehend anew the structure of reality while focusing on the experience of the invisible or hard-to-see suffering characteristic of radiation risk. Furthermore, it means that, as Beck points out, civil society cannot help getting involved in political and scientific struggles over the definition of radiation risk.

6 The Post-Hiroshima Age as an Institution

To use the concepts of 'institution' and 'pivot' that play central roles in the philosophy of the later Merleau-Ponty, the historical events of the dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki can be considered to be functioning as a pivot (Merleau-Ponty 1969, 205-6) for the Post-Hiroshima Age as an institution, since the following events and, by extension, the post-war-life world itself makes sense, even if unconsciously, only in relation to these events. However, the whole spectrum of historical sense issuing from these base events is not so easy to recognise. It is not only because the reality of the A-bomb explosion is 'beyond representation' as an event, but also because it caused long-term damage due to residual radiation and internal radiation, on top of the instantaneous massacre and destruction by the horrendous external radiation and searing blasts, widely spoken of as '*Pika-Don*', an onomatopoeia for 'White Flash-Boom' (cf. Kazashi 2011, 2012).

7 Denial of 'Internal Radiation' Risk in Hiroshima

Radioactive contamination can be caused not only through external radiation but also through 'internal radiation'; that is, when humans inhale radioactive particles or ingest contaminated foods, some of those radioactive particles remain inside bodies and can irradiate themselves from inside. Unfortunately, the impact of internal radiation has been grossly underestimated, or in many cases largely ignored, in assessing the damage caused by radioactive contamination.

Thus, the 'pivot' for the Post-Hiroshima Age has a dual structure: while the devastating and visible effects of external radiation accompanying the immediate impact of the nuclear explosions are self-evident and indeed have provided strong impetus towards abolishing nuclear weapons, the insidious low-level internal radiation caused by the intrusion of residual and radioactive materials into human bodies has not been generally recognised until recently. Even in Japan, it was only several years ago that internal radiation came to be taken into consideration legally in the so-called 'A-bomb disease class action lawsuits'.

According to the *Hibakusha* (A-bomb Survivor) Assistance Law, even if a *hibakusha* is suffering from a serious disease such as cancer, in order to receive special medical assistance, he or she must be officially recognised as indeed suffering from an 'A-bomb disease' by the Ministry of Health and Welfare. Until 2003, the number of such people was only about 2,200.[4] This small number was a direct consequence of the standards used for the recognition, which were based on an estimate of external radiation exposure done immediately after the dropping of the A-bombs. Thus, in 2003 the *hibakusha* who had been denied recognition initiated class action lawsuits against the Japanese Government. The number of plaintiffs in the cases totalled 306 *hibakusha* living in 17 cities. The Japanese Government lost in all of the cases concluded before May 2009, and 197 *hibakusha* won recognition as suffering from A-bomb disease. Furthermore, the government was forced to revise the standards in such a way as to take into consideration factors of residual and internal radiation as well; that is, the possibility for recognition was opened to those who were within a 3-kilometre radius of the epicentre, as well as those who entered the areas within a 2-kilometre radius within 100 hours after the bombings.

Apparently these were great steps forward to alleviate *hibakusha*'s suffering, but the revision of the recognition standards has not done much to bring about the expected consequences. According to recent news reports, the percentage of recognition actually conferred declined after the

4 General *hibakusha* are entitled to a basic monthly aid and can be exempted from the self-pay burden for medical expenses. The number of people carrying the designation of *hibakusha* amounts to about 250,000.

revision. It was reported that, at a recent hearing of a lawsuit initiated by seven *hibakusha* after the revision, the government argued that the effects of internal radiation on *hibakusha* could not be considered to be grave enough to be taken into consideration. The angered plaintiffs rebutted by referring to the judgment, given by the Tokyo High Court in 2009, to the effect that an A-bomb disease evaluation that ignored the effects of internal radiation could not be considered legitimate. They posed the question as follows: "The government persists in their old argument regarding internal radiation, but isn't it because they are anxious to minimize the compensations for the workers and residents in Fukushima?" (Sawamoto 2011)

8 WHO/IAEA Agreement of 1959

Regarding the Chernobyl accident as well, the damage caused by low-level and internal radiation was grossly underestimated by WHO and IAEA. Their joint report of 2005 attributed only 43 deaths and 4,000 fatal cancers directly to the Chernobyl disaster (WHO 2005). Obviously such underestimation derives from the need to keep the radiation risk 'invisible' in order to promote the 'peaceful' use of nuclear power. As pointed out by Helen Caldicott and others, for a time WHO used to voice straightforward warnings about the harmful effects of radiation. This ended in 1959, when WHO entered into an agreement with IAEA that virtually deprived WHO of its right to engage autonomously in the research on nuclear-related issues and report about them without the IAEA's consent. IAEA was established in 1957 as a means to implement Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" initiative.[5]

In the light of these problems, a number of NGOs in Europe came to form a coalition named *Independent WHO*, which, in May 2011, held a meeting with WHO's Secretary-General, Margaret Chan. According to the coalition's press release, Secretary-General Chan did not concede that WHO had been shackled by the 1959 agreement, but did acknowledge that "she did not believe that the total direct death toll from the Chernobyl accident was only 50, as the disputed WHO/IAEA report claimed" (*The Mainichi* 2011). It was also revealed that WHO's section in charge of radiation effects on human health had been abolished two years before, when a monetary scandal involving its chief came to light and that, for financial reasons, there was no plan to restore the section. Even before the abolition of the section, however, there were only several radiation-related specialists at WHO. These facts themselves are simply appalling. But it is said

5 On its homepage the IAEA proclaims itself as "the world's center of cooperation in the nuclear field. It was set up in 1957 as the world's 'Atoms for Peace' organization within the United Nations family" and posts Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace" speech, too. URL https://www.iaea.org/about/history/atoms-for-peace-speech (2016-02-07).

that about 30% of 2,300 people working at IAEA are scientists of various fields. Considering the number of nuclear specialists working for IAEA, they are all the more emblematic of the nature of the nuclear system in which we are living; we are made to live in a world that is institutionally very poorly equipped regarding radiation protection, even though it has been intent on promoting nuclear power generation.

9 For a New Concept of Human Right in the Nuclear Age

In the name of natality, Hannah Arendt extolled human capacity to begin, that is, the capacity to introduce what is totally unexpected into the world; new freedom comes into being together with each new life that is born into this world. However, life in the nuclear age is exposed to the invisible threat of radiation risk at the very source of natality; fetuses and small children are more sensitive and vulnerable to radiation than adults because their young cells divide at much higher rates. In order to protect the miracle of natality that Arendt recognised as the inexhaustible source of freedom, we have to come face to face with the reality of 'the bio-politics over radiation risk'.

After 11 March 2011, many of those involved in the anti-nuclear movements felt obliged to re-examine their stance on nuclear weapons problems and came to realise the need to call into question the whole process of the 'nuclear chain' from uranium mining to nuclear wastes. As a consequence of such self-critical reflection from the ground up, the World Nuclear Victims Forum was held in Hiroshima in November 2015 on the 70th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima. This was an international conference organised wholly by an association of NGOs and citizens, who managed to collect enough donation to invite about 50 people, including nuclear victims, scientists, legal specialists and campaigners from around the world and Japan to share information about the damages accompanying the whole 'nuclear chain' as well as the up-to-date scientific knowledge about the effects of radiation. Participants amounted to 1,000 people in total, and at the close of the 3-day conference, the Forum adopted the Hiroshima Declaration containing the Draft Elements for a Charter of World Nuclear Victims' Rights,[6] which advocated a new concept, i.e. the human right to live without unnecessary exposure to nuclear radiation. However, 26 April 2016 and 11 March 2017 already marked the 30th anniversary of Chernobyl and the 6th anniversary of the Fukushima disaster respectively; when will the world come to look upon such an advocacy as a belated but natural development of the concept of human right?

6 Available at URL http://www.fwrs.info/ (2016-02-07).

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